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MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WORKS
OF
SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART.

EDINBURGH: PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE AND CO., PAUL'S WORK.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND WORKS

OF THE LATE RIGHT HONOURABLE

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, BART.

BY HIS SON,

THE REV. JOHN SINCLAIR, M. A.

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AUTHOR OF DISSERTATIONS VINDICATING THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ;

AN ESSAY ON CHURCH PATRONAGE, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE LATE RIGHT HONOURABLE

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CHAPTER 1.

Statistical Account of Scotland—Importance of Statistics—Progress of the Science in England—in Spain—in Sweden—in France—in Denmark—in Germany—in Scotland—Difficulties of Sir John's undertaking—His Measures for surmounting them—Beneficial Results—Testimonies—The Analysis—Dr Adam Ferguson—Lord Brougham—Translations—Marquess of Lansdowne—Dr Purvis.

As the foundation at once of political economy and of legislation, an accurate knowledge of the numbers, habits, and condition of the people in every country is obviously necessary. Public statutes, and the recommendations of economists, must be grounded on broad general principles, resulting from a minute and accurate investigation of particular facts. Hence one of the earliest writers on modern economic science,

Sir James Steuart (1767), recommended local surveys as the only safe basis of political and financial regulations. "Every plan for this purpose," says he (that of benefiting a nation), "which does not proceed upon an exact recapitulation of the inhabitants of a country, parish by parish, will prove nothing more than an expedient for walking in the dark." This passage shows that some idea of parochial statistics occurred to the writer, but his hint, which is confined to the amount of population in the districts composing a country, would, if adopted, produce rather a census than a statistical description; and could only constitute a single element in the reasonings of the practical economist. Nor does Sir James suggest the agency to be employed in his limited researches.

These remarks proceed upon the acknowledged truth, that an induction from particulars is the only basis of well-grounded general principles. No doubt where *moral* agency is in question, where the ever-varying determinations of the human will are an element in the enquiry, our inferences are subject to limitations, not necessary to be interposed where the uniform impulses of instinct, or the unvarying laws of inorganic matter, are the subject of investigation. At the same time, although the data afforded by statistics cannot, from their very nature, be so confidently applied in politics, as the data furnished by physiology or chemistry can be applied in natural philoso-

phy, the political economist and legislator neither have, or can have, any other sufficient guide. Even the fundamental maxims of Government, which have less dependence on inductive researches, could not, without induction of some kind, be adapted to local and national peculiarities.

Some degree of statistical investigation, however limited the objects to which it was directed, and however rude and imperfect its results, must have co-existed with the formation of the social system. Indeed, the most natural and most important enquiry to be made by the ruler of a state, must be into the numbers, the condition, and the employments of his subjects. Exemplifications of such researches may be traced back to the earliest epochs in human government ; to Moses during the theocracy of the Jews ; and to the Pharoahs of ancient Egypt. Without enlarging upon times so remote, we may instance the compilation of “ Domesday Book,” by William the Conqueror, containing returns of all the lands in England—the tenure by which they were held—the number of inhabitants—and other circumstances connected with the state of agriculture and pasturage. This great national work, which Hume designates as “ the most valuable piece of antiquity possessed by any nation,” was followed by the “ Rotuli Hundredorum” of Henry III. and Edward I. ; by the “ Taxatio Ecclesiastica” of Edward I. ; and the “ Valor Ecclesiasticus” of Henry VIII. But all these accounts

were imperfect. They referred chiefly to the sources of ecclesiastical revenue, and were merely designed to furnish data for levying taxes on the clergy, or for confiscating their property. Camden's "*Britannia*" is rather an antiquarian than a statistical work; rather useful to the historian than to the statesman. Local historians, at different periods, have since described forty out of the fifty-two English counties. Mr Gough's account of these performances is not calculated to invite perusal. He describes them as being "full of incorrect pedigrees, futile etymologies, verbose disquisitions, crowds of epitaphs, lists of landholders, and such farrago, thrown together without method, unanimated by reflection, and delivered in the most uncouth and horrid style."

Abroad, the first statistical enquiry of a national description, in modern times, seems to have been made in Spain, about the middle of the sixteenth century. A list of questions was addressed by Philip the Second to all the prelates and corregidores, comprising fifty-seven heads of enquiry; and although the greater part related to geography, to natural and civil history, to heraldry, agriculture, and mineralogy, several queries were exclusively statistical. No account is preserved of the results of this royal investigation.

The second example in Europe was given by the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, in 1630. The royal mandate for this purpose was transmitted through the Archbishop of Upsal; and required the clergy,

in their respective parishes, to examine each of the parishioners apart, with reference to certain points of antiquarian research, “which they,” says the mandate, “out of misconception, are apt to conceal;” and farther, “to communicate whatever tends to the praiseworthy improvement of their native country.” The information thus collected was to be deposited in the royal cabinet; and afterwards, in a condensed form, published for the benefit of the kingdom.

The next statistical investigation was made in France about 1698, by direction of Louis XIV., who ordered the local authorities to draw up an account of each province for the instruction of the Duke of Burgundy. Voltaire, whose sagacity perceived at once the vast importance of the information aimed at, remarks of the undertaking, “that had it been well executed, the collection would have been among the most valuable monuments of the age.” He mentions, in terms of commendation, the account of Languedoc, which he had perused in manuscript; but Sir John Sinclair, who had opportunity of examining the document, does not coincide with the historian; he condemns the work as meagre and defective. It is thought that these provincial accounts were never published.

The statistical researches of Denmark were confined to financial tables, printed and partially circulated by the Government, but never committed to the press.

In no part of the continent has the importance of statistics been better understood than in Germany. The vast variety of subjects to which the attention of the statist should be given, is ably and comprehensively enumerated by Baron Bielfield in his “*Elements of Universal Erudition.*” His work, however, contains speculations and directions only. He did not attempt to put his theory in practice by an actual enquiry into the circumstances of the German empire. Professor Zimmerman’s *Political Survey of the Present State of Europe* (1787) is a more practical work ; but is on a small scale, considering the wide extent of territory which it embraces.

It was reserved for Scotland to make important progress in such enquiries ; and this progress, we may remark, resulted rather from private industry and influence, than from public authority or the exertions of the Government. Researches to a considerable extent were made by Sir Robert Gordon for “*Bleau’s Atlas* ;” by Sir Robert Sibbald for his “*Atlas Scot-ticus* ;” by Walter Macfarlane of Macfarlane, whose collections are still preserved at Edinburgh in the *Advocates’ Library* ; and by Maitland, the historian of London and of Edinburgh. Their exertions, however, did not much enlarge the boundaries of statistical knowledge.

Better success attended the researches of Dr Webster ; yet, after nearly twelve years of laborious examination, he could only ascertain the stipends of the

clergy and the population of the kingdom. His work is chiefly valuable as it facilitates a comparison of former with present times, in respect to these particulars. Entertaining a high opinion of the clergy of Scotland, Mr Pennant hoped to prevail upon them to favour the public with exact descriptions of their respective parishes, and his wish in some instances was complied with, but to no great extent. The last attempt of this nature, previous to Sir John Sinclair's work, was made by the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, who obtained accounts of five parishes, and printed them in their Transactions.

From the fact that so much energy and perseverance had produced effects so limited, every attempt to procure parochial accounts, embodying the variety of details now included under the term Statistics, began to be considered visionary and impracticable. Newte, the traveller, derides the hope of those sanguine projectors who tried, by correspondence with the clergy, to draw from them accounts of their respective parishes. "These gentlemen," he says, "do not reflect that there is no individual, however distinguished by genius, rank, or fortune, or even by a happy or rare union of all these advantages, who can possibly be considered by a whole nation as a fit centre for such general co-operation."*

* From other quarters my father was assured that his enquiries would receive no countenance or reward from Government. "You are always employed," says Bishop Watson, on

It was under these discouraging circumstances that the Author of the Statistical Account of Scotland commenced his extensive, laborious, and all but impracticable undertaking. He had intended to close his History of the Revenue with a general view of the political circumstances of the country, but had been obliged to abandon the attempt from the scantiness of the existing information. In 1790, being a member of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and being on terms of friendly intimacy with its leaders, he conceived the hope of prevailing upon the clergy to furnish such information regarding their respective parishes as would enable him to publish, in a distinct work, what he had formerly designed for the concluding part of his Financial History. He had no idea of printing, as separate performances, the parochial accounts which he solicited, but intended to digest them into a General Account of the State of Scotland. He found, however, in the first communications of his correspondents, so much ability in composition, and so many curious as well as useful local facts, that he thought it would be unjust towards individual clergymen, if he threw their labours into one mass, instead of giving each contributor, in some degree, the credit of his own performance.

receiving his prospectus, "with honour to yourself and utility to your country. You may be praised, but you will not be promoted to any beneficial situation, for Government is jealous of abilities united with a spirit of independence."—*Letter dated October 4, 1790.*

To preserve as much uniformity as possible in the information to be obtained, he sent a circular-letter to each minister, accompanied by 160 queries, under the four heads of geography and natural history, population, productions, and miscellaneous subjects.* Having received a number of returns, he printed, in 1791, a volume, containing accounts of four parishes; and having thrown off a thousand extra copies, sent them, with a second circular (by way at once of specimen and excitement), to every parochial clergyman in Scotland. The terms *Statistics*, and *Statistical*, which occurred continually in this volume, were such novelties in the British *nomenclature* of economic science, that Sir John thought it necessary to apologize for their introduction. He explained that he had derived the term from the German, though he employed it in a sense somewhat different from its foreign acceptation. In Germany, a statistical enquiry related to the *political strength* of the country, or to

* When Sir John sent a copy of these queries to Bishop Watson, his Lordship, who so well knew the duties and habits of the clergy in rural districts, gave him a very discouraging answer. "Your statistical queries," says he, "are all good, but they are too numerous to be answered with precision by a country clergyman." That Dr Blair participated in these sentiments, appears by a passage from a long statistical paper in his own handwriting, transmitted to Sir John. "I am happy," says he, "at there being such a general consent through the country in seconding your patriotic views in obtaining a satisfactory account of Scotland. The clergy seem to have exerted themselves more on this occasion than I expected from them."

questions of state policy, whereas he employed the word to express an enquiry into the state of a country, for the purpose of ascertaining the amount of *happiness* enjoyed by its inhabitants, and the means of its future improvement.*

The anticipations of Newte and others, as to the difficulty of compiling a statistical account, were realized in all their magnitude and irksomeness by my father. They had only miscalculated as to the probability of finding a man of zeal and perseverance sufficient to support him through the undertaking. Much discouragement arose both from the clergy and from their parishioners. When Sir John's numerous queries reached the ministers to whom they were addressed, a variety of feelings was excited. Many clergymen of industry and public spirit, well acquainted

* "*Statistick*. This word is not found in any of our Dictionaries. It seems to have been first used by Sir John Sinclair, in his plan for a statement of the trade, population, and productions of every parish in Scotland, with the food, diseases, and longevity of its inhabitants; a plan which reflects the greatest credit on the understanding and benevolence of that gentleman, as it is big with advantages both to the philosopher and the politician."—WALKER'S *Dictionary*.

German statistis, and in particular Professor Schlozer, in his *Theorie der Statistik*, insist that a distinction was all along sufficiently kept in view between politics and statistics, by the statistical writers of that country, and that Sir John Sinclair's definition was identical with theirs. I may also here remark, that the Italians may fairly dispute with their German neighbours the appropriation of this term, which occurs in some of their writers soon after the revival of letters.

with the personal character of the author, and assured of the disinterestedness which prompted him to this laborious undertaking, readily and heartily gave their assistance to the work. Various causes, however, prevented others from manifesting similar zeal. Some, not unnaturally, felt considerable jealousy at the boldness of an individual expecting that a whole nation would "consider him" (to use the language of Newte) "a fit centre for general co-operation." Some from the first had condemned the work as impracticable; and having once expressed publicly their opinion, felt unwilling to retract it. Some were indolent, at least with respect to so novel an employment, and were disinclined to trains of thought so foreign to their previous studies. Some, needlessly diffident of their own abilities, dreaded that severity of criticism which they despondingly imagined must await their compositions. Some, being compelled by the prejudices of their people to preach extemporaneously, wanted that facility in writing which, in the sister church, may be expected to result from the practice of composing written sermons. Some were advanced in years; some labouring under infirmities which disqualified them from exertion. Parishes, in some cases, were vacant; and, in others, so large, that the conscientious superintendence of them was sufficient to occupy the time and exhaust the physical energies of the incumbent. Occasionally, three different places of worship, many miles apart, in districts

without roads, and separated by arms of the sea, which for many days or weeks might be impassable, were placed under the same minister.* Nor was this all; in many cases the salaries of the clergy, especially in the Highlands, were so small, that the General Assembly allowed them to farm a certain amount of land†—a permission in some degree necessary, when we consider the pittances which they received, the rank which they were required to support, and the respectable education which they would be naturally ambitious to give their children.‡ These secular occupations, rendered imperative by their circumstances, would leave them but little leisure for the numerous and minute enquiries to which the circulars of the agricultural Baronet invited their attention.

Even when the clergyman was willing to supply the information solicited, he had often great difficulty in overcoming the prejudices and misconceptions of his parishioners. Nor was such discouragement a novelty

* Dr Johnson, in his *Tour to the Hebrides*, has some severe remarks on this paucity of ministers. He speaks of places, where weeks or months might pass without any public exercise of religion; and of skeletons of chapels which stood “faithful witnesses of the triumphs of Reformation.”

† Even in the wealthy agricultural county of Aberdeen a considerable number of the parishes were under a hundred a-year, some as low as L.60, according to their own returns to Sir John.

‡ “The only gentlemen in the islands,” says Dr Johnson, “are the laird, the tacksman, and the minister, who frequently improve their livings by becoming farmers.”—*Tour to the Hebrides*.

in the progress of statistics ; whether the enquirer was a private individual or an agent of the Government, empowered in the latter case to demand, what in the former could only be requested through the influence of personal friendship, urbanity, or public spirit. It is by no means unnatural, under certain political circumstances, to suspect that the details of personal property may be rendered subservient to purposes of taxation. Thus, when the materials of Domesday-book were collecting, not only did the people view the work with suspicion and dislike, as a preliminary to new imposts, but even pious frauds, it is said, were practised by the Royal Commissioners engaged in the task, who underrated in some instances the value of ecclesiastical property, that its owners might, at least in part, be enabled to evade the apprehended impositions. So also, in the case of Sweden, it appears, that much reluctance was anticipated on the part of the people to make the necessary returns ; “out of misconception,” as the expression is in the circular of Gustavus Adolphus. When the clergy, in the case of Scotland, endeavoured to obtain the information required, their parishioners contemplated with jealousy these unofficial investigations. They suspected, although Sir John Sinclair was no agent of Government, although he was one of the greatest friends of retrenchment and economy, and one of the most efficient promoters of the interest of the people, that still the materials he might collect, with a most

disinterested view, would be employed against themselves as the basis of fresh taxes. Tenants also in country parishes disliked a scrutiny into the produce of the soil and value of the stock, as affording dangerous data to landlords for the augmentation of their rents. In these our enlightened times, it may appear surprising that superstition also, in certain cases, retarded the enquiry. *

* “ The following verses were sent to Sir John Sinclair by the eccentric, benevolent, and pious minister of Lochcarron, on the west coast of Ross-shire—a man of whom many droll stories are told, and who is most affectionately remembered among his parishioners by the name of “ The Good Mr Lachlan :”—

“ This same statistical account
Is sent to please Sir John ;
And if it be not elegant,
Let critics throw a stone.

“ We have not fine materials,
And our account is plain ;
Our purling streams are well enough,
But we have too much rain.

“ In Humby there’s a harbour fine,
Where ships their course may steer .
Such as are building villages
Might build a village there.

“ From Castle Strom there is a road,
Straight down to Kessock ferry ;
And by this road, the men of Skye
Do all their whisky carry.

“ Our girls are dressed in cloak and gown.
And think themselves right bonny ;
Each comes on Sunday to the kirk
In hopes to see her Johnny.

I have now to describe the means taken by Sir John Sinclair to surmount these accumulated obstacles. We have already noticed him circulating a specimen volume among the clergy as the first fruits of his labours. This was the harbinger to a long-continued series of efforts. He prevailed upon Principal Robertson the historian, Sir Henry Wellwood Moncrieff, Principals Hill and Gerard, Dr Blair, Dr Kemp, and other eminent clergymen, to importune their clerical

“ A drover, when the sermon’s done,
Will ask the price of cows,
But the good honest Christian
Will stick to gospel news.

“ We call for tea when we are sick,
When we want salt we grumble ;
When drovers’ offers are not brisk.
It makes our hopes to tumble.

“ The parson has no horse or farm,
Nor goat, nor watch, nor wife ;
Without an augmentation too,
He leads a happy life.

“ Now, good Sir John, it was for you
I gather’d all this news ;
But you will say, that I forgot
To count the sheep and cows.

“ Of these we have a number too,
But then, ’twixt you and I,
The number they would never tell,
For fear the beasts should die.”

See an entertaining and intelligent work, entitled “The Schoolmaster.”

friends in the country for reports. He induced the Earl of Leven, his Majesty's Commissioner to the General Assembly, the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Fife, and other great proprietors in Scotland, to address the different ministers whom they had presented to parishes, or over whom they had influence, urging them to co-operate in the work.

To interest the clergy in the success of the undertaking by the strong motive of natural affection, my father generously assigned all the profits of his publication to a society about that time instituted "for the Benefit of the Sons of the Clergy." This institution, in 1791, possessed a fund of L.1000, but did not propose making any distribution till their capital should be doubled ; a result which the sale of the Statistical Account was expected to realize. This delay, so painful to all parties, was obviated by the exertions of Sir John Sinclair, who, with great difficulty, prevailed on the directors of the institution to apply for a royal grant in aid of their funds. This application he strenuously recommended to the King's favourable consideration through Mr Secretary Dundas, who, in communicating the intelligence that a grant of L.2000 had been made, declared that this donation was to be considered as a reward to the clergy for their statistical exertions.

The following letters from Sir Henry Wellwood Moncrieff, the Reverend Dr Hardy, and Mr Secretary

Dundas, together with the vote of thanks from the Society for the Benefit of the Sons of the Clergy, explain sufficiently this interesting transaction.

From the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, Bart.

“ Edinburgh, 14th April, 1792.

“ Sir,

“ The charter of incorporation to the Society for the Sons of the Clergy, notwithstanding what I wrote you formerly, by some accident did not get through the public offices till a few days ago.

“ I mentioned your suggestion of the scroll of a petition to Dr Hardy ; but he is at a loss to know how such a petition should be drawn, to whom it should be addressed, and to what funds the application should refer. As you are a better judge of these points than we can be, if you will be so obliging as to drop your ideas to him, it will add greatly to the obligation you have already conferred on us. I have the honour to be, most respectfully, sir, your faithful and obedient servant,

“ H. MONCRIEFF WELLWOOD.”

From the Reverend Dr Hardy.

“ Edinburgh, 9th May, 1792.

“ I have delayed answering your letter, inclosing a draft of a petition for aid of the Sons of the Clergy, till

I should have conversed with several members of the society who have taken an active part in its affairs. We all consider the society as very much indebted to you, both on the ground of the statistical enquiries, and of your readiness, on this occasion, to exert yourself for some immediate pecuniary grant to bring its capital into a situation which may authorize a commencement of distributions. All of the gentlemen with whom I have conversed on this point express, however, a reluctance to take so pointed a step as a petition for pecuniary aid in this case, as there is no specific fund in view on which a probable claim might be laid, but only the privy purse, to which our petition could refer. We are afraid that a repulse might expose the society ; and our existence depends on our being able to preserve the full and unmixed approbation of the country."

From Mr Secretary Dundas.

"Wimbledon, 18th June, 1792.

"Dear Sir,

"By the letter I have this day wrote to the Lord Provost, in consequence of the petition from the Society of the Sons of the Clergy signed by him, you will see how bountiful the King wishes to be to them. I trust it will have the effect of making them more and more zealous in their statistical researches. Indeed, I confess I felt peculiar pleasure in moving his

Majesty on the subject of the donation for the benefit of their sons, that they had so handsomely stepped forward to aid a public object of this kind.

“ I shall, to-morrow, show to his Majesty the specimen of the Spanish wool improved in Scotland. I remain, dear sir, yours faithfully,

“ HENRY DUNDAS.”

From the Society for the Benefit of the Sons of the Clergy.

“ Edinburgh, May 29, 1792.

“ The Society for the Benefit of the Sons of the Clergy unanimously resolved that the thanks of the Society be offered to Sir John Sinclair, Baronet, for the warm interest he has taken in the prosperity of the scheme, and for his active services, which have been directed to the improvement of their funds ; and the society order that an extract of the minute be delivered to Sir Henry Moncrieff, Baronet, and Dr Hardy, that the same may be by them presented to Sir John Sinclair.

“ Extracted from the minutes of the Society, by William Creech, Secretary.”

I ought to add, that the members of this benevolent institution expressed their gratitude to my father not only in their collective, but also in their individual capacity. “ I trust,” says Principal Hill, “ that neither the fathers nor the children will ever forget

how much they owe to your zealous and persevering exertions."

On this royal donation the Baronet grounded his third circular, urging the clergy to proceed immediately with a work which now appealed to their gratitude as well as to their public spirit. It would appear that he often made this motive still more effectual by exertions of private influence, and that in many instances the sons of his statistical correspondents were among the number of those whose success in life he had the gratification of advancing. John Home, the author of "*Douglas*," shows some jealousy of the influence with my father enjoyed by the reverend contributors. Applying for a commission in the Fencibles in favour of his nephew, he drily observes,—
"If your companies are not engaged, I shall get as many doctors in divinity as you please to recommend him. Your circular points well to keep up a communication with the clergy who have served you in your Statistical Account, which will long remain the materials of history."

The circular just referred to was followed by a fourth, expressed in still more urgent terms, and in a pleasant vein, threatening defaulters with the substitution of some other historian of the parish, in case its minister continued contumacious.

The next measure of Sir John was to obtain for his work the patronage of the General Assembly of the Church, so that obedience to authority might be

added to the other inducements for compliance with his solicitations. A vote passed unanimously, recommending and urging the ministers “to contribute, with all the expedition in their power, to complete a task of such apparent public utility.” A copy of this vote was transmitted by the Baronet to all his procrastinating correspondents, accompanied by a sixth circular, written for the first time in manuscript, entreating compliance with the recommendation of the supreme ecclesiastical court. After two other circulars, the number of recusants was so much diminished, that on the 25th August, 1794, he was enabled to write his ninth circular with his own hand. After ten additional circulars, proceeding from request to entreaty, from entreaty to remonstrance, and from remonstrance to expostulation, as a last resort, he penned an epistle in *red ink*, facetiously announcing that the laws of Draco were in force against delinquents, who would be proceeded against with Draconian severity. In all, Sir John’s circulars amounted to twenty-three, besides several transmitted by his political and clerical friends. A venerable Principal, now alive, humorously acknowledged that “nothing but the laws of Draco would have enforced his obedience.”

Notwithstanding all these exertions, as there were several parishes from which no report could be procured, the Baronet had recourse to the singular expedient of employing persons, whom he designated

“ Statistical Missionaries,” who personally, at his expense, visited the undescribed parishes, and drew up reports of them. He himself contributed an account of Thurso, his native parish, which is among the most ably written, and in its details perhaps the most copious of the whole compilation.

Among the many disheartening circumstances which impeded the undertaking, may be mentioned the destruction of the fourteenth volume by fire in the premises of the printer ; and, what was more vexatious, the total loss of twelve reports, which caused a necessity for soliciting the contributors to recommence their labours. At last, however, on the 1st January 1798 (a most auspicious day to the indefatigable author), after seven years, seven months, and seven days (as he somewhat minutely calculated) of incessant labour and anxiety, he had the happiness to complete the work in twenty-one thick and closely printed octavo volumes, comprehending the contributions of above nine hundred individuals.

Perhaps a more interesting exhibition of diversified talent was never made than in the original manuscript reports from the multitude of authors, whom public spirit, personal friendship, private influence, gratitude, or importunity, had called almost simultaneously into the field of authorship. Many of the reports showed great natural ability as well as literary acquirement ; and the whole collection did the highest honour to the Church of Scotland. The contri-

butions, however, as might be expected, were of very unequal merit. Some of them betrayed much ignorance, prejudice, and inaccuracy; some were imperfect and jejune; a far greater number tedious and verbose. Lord Hailes, in a letter to Sir John, dated 18th February 1791, warns him not to receive, with implicit confidence, all the statements transmitted to him by his correspondents. "There is much," he says, "to be learned even from your specimen volume, but I suppose that you will *check* the information you receive from the clergy with what you learn elsewhere." Other friends, in whose hands he placed some of the manuscripts for revision, expressed, in strong terms, their disappointment and vexation at the crude and undigested materials submitted to their consideration. "The account of ——" says the Rev. Dr Hardy, "was the strangest paper I have yet met with—a good deal of important information ill expressed, and lying *run-rigg* with a great quantity of nonsense." In the task of giving uniformity and precision to this multifarious series of papers, Sir John Sinclair, and the literary friends employed to assist him, might have justly adopted the saying of an old Scottish jurist, who, having undertaken the task of abridging and condensing some enormous mass of writings, describes, with great satisfaction, how he had "cropped, lopped, pruned, pared, and amputated the huge mass before him into readable dimensions." The sensitiveness of authors is well known, and was

abundantly called forth when the corrected manuscripts were printed. Many of the clergy were loud in their expressions of dissatisfaction. Correction and emendation naturally appeared to involve a charge against the competency of the writers. The parts omitted were judged to be most important, and those supplied to be needless interpolations. On the other hand, there were many clergymen, and in some instances the ablest, who not only took in good part the censorship of their reports, but thanked Sir John for the improvement they had personally derived from the diversified studies to which his numerous queries invited them. He more than once refers to this as amongst the most pleasing circumstances connected with the undertaking.

It is gratifying to record that a work, so honourable to the talents, industry, and patriotism of the clergy, was the means not only of raising the church in the estimation of the public, but of benefiting its most necessitous ministers. The exposure of their privations, in connexion with the evidence of real worth afforded by their productions, elicited the patronage of the Legislature. In addition to the royal grant already mentioned, which operated so beneficially towards their families, laws were passed for regulating the augmentation of their livings, either from the parochial funds, or, where the tithes were exhausted, from a Parliamentary grant in their behalf. By this enactment, it was provided that L.150 per

annum should be the lowest stipend of a clergyman of the Church of Scotland. It may be added, in connexion with the benefits resulting to the clergy from the "Statistical Account," that their labours have supplied statesmen with a fresh argument in favour of ecclesiastical establishments. Pinkerton, the historian, congratulating Sir John Sinclair on the completion of his labours, observes, that he had thus furnished "one of the strongest practicable arguments for the utility of the clerical body."

Another interesting class of men, whose talents have mainly contributed to the moral and intellectual superiority of Scotland, shared in the benefits produced by this great work. The parochial schoolmasters had from various causes been reduced to extreme penury; but measures were now taken to remedy this evil, by an addition to their salaries. I have now before me various letters of thanks for the exertions of my father in their behalf. The schoolmaster of Stewarton, writing in the name of his brethren within the presbytery of Irvine (21st March, 1798), informs Sir John that "salaries in some parishes had been augmented by the heritors (landowners) themselves; and in others by mortifications (endowments), either of land or money, since the publication of the Statistical Account." He expresses at the same time, the determination of his brethren to be guided by the Baronet in "all their exertions to obtain the intervention of Parliament in their

behalf." There is also a letter in the name of a general meeting of the schoolmasters of Scotland, which proves how shamefully this useful body of men had hitherto been neglected. They return thanks to Sir John Sinclair for procuring their exemption from liability to serve in the militia.

Among results connected with the domestic happiness and comfort of the people, may be mentioned the abolition of a grievance technically called *thirlage*, by which farmers were restricted to particular mills in grinding their corn, and subjected, under this strange pretence, to vexatious exactions.* Not only were they compelled to pay certain charges on the corn actually ground, but even, in some cases, on their whole crop, in consequence of their obligation to have it ground in these mills. This feudal right sometimes cost the farmer a ninth part of his produce. To the removal of this nuisance, may be added the repeal of a duty on coals carried coastwise, which had impeded the progress both of agriculture and of manufactures. Although the tax produced only about L.12,000 a-year, yet its abolition was felt as a great boon by individuals, whose miseries, arising from

* Lord Hailes, in a letter to my father, says, that the word *thirl* is derived from *thral*, so that *thirlage* means bondage. "The miller in my barony," says George Dempster, M.P., in a letter, dated 1792, "never ground the *thirlage* corn but when there was no *unbound* (voluntary) customers' corn to grind."

the dearness of fuel, were occasionally made public through the reports of the clergy.

It was naturally to be expected that the minute and various knowledge conveyed in the Statistical Account, would contribute to the advancement of *medical* science ; and that valuable inferences might be drawn from the remarks of the clergy, as to the effects of food, clothing, and climate upon longevity and population. Numerous references accordingly have been made to Sir John's work by physicians of talent and celebrity, foreign as well as British. The following letter is from a learned medical writer :—

“ Clifton, near Bristol, 18th February, 1798.

“ Sir,

“ I am at present engaged in a popular medical work on a subject of unquestionable importance ; and I find much to my purpose in that valuable repository which the public owes to you—the Statistical Account of Scotland. I have seen the twentieth volume announced for this winter. Unless it appears soon, it will be too late for my purpose ; and I should be much obliged to you, if you would indulge me with the part already printed, if any part be yet printed.

“ I shall endeavour to put the Scotch clergy in a better way of observing the healthiness of their parishes. Indeed I am much inclined to give up the profits of a summer's practice, for the sake of a medical tour in Scotland ; which country I choose, because

your publication has so much facilitated enquiry. I am, sir, with great regard, your most obedient servant,

“ THOMAS BEDDOES.

“ P.S.—If you can favour me with any sheets, please to direct them as follows.”

Among the benefits resulting to the public from the Statistical Account of Scotland, was the encouragement it afforded generally to similar undertakings. Influenced by this example, the Right Honourable Charles Abbot (afterwards Lord Colchester) proposed a general census of Great Britain. Writing to Sir John, he says, “ Your success in the completion of a similar enquiry, suggested to me the idea of a general census ; and I rely much on your aid in carrying the measure through.” This important national work has since been extended to Ireland ; and thus the real state of the empire, in respect to the number and capabilities of its inhabitants, has for the first time been demonstrated, and sure data supplied for the regulation of our foreign and domestic policy.*

* It is recorded by Sir John Malcolm, in his Memoir of Central India, that, on being appointed to the command of that district in 1818, one of his first measures was to have a census taken of the population of the several provinces subject to Holkar, Scindia, &c. The utility of this statistical information was seen at once by Tantia Jogh, the prime Minister of Holkar, who declared that it imparted to him a knowledge which he

Besides the general census, other valuable works were suggested by the Statitiscal Account ; for example, Cesar Moreau's " Statistical Works on France ;" Dr Seybert's extensive enquiries as to the " United States of America ;" Dr Cleland's incomparable volume on " Glasgow ;" Marshall's elaborate " Statistics of the British Empire ;" the " County Surveys of Ireland," drawn up for the Dublin Society ; and the " Parochial Accounts " of that kingdom, communicated to Mr Shaw Mason. The able and persevering statist last mentioned, reprinted, at the commencement of his researches, and circulated widely among the Irish clergy, two specimen reports, one of which was Sir John's account of Thurso.*

could only describe by saying, that " he felt like a man who had been couched for a cataract in the eye ;" it seemed to him as " light after darkness."

* In the preface to his work, Mr Shaw Mason says, " Among the earliest and most valuable of his correspondents, the author is proud to mention the name of Sir John Sinclair, whose previous work excited him to this undertaking, and was the model which, in its progress, he has imitated. At a time when war was desolating the whole civilised world, this true patriot devoted himself to the improvement of the agricultural resources of Great Britain ; and, by his unremitting exertions, turned the public mind so strongly towards this great national object, devised or discovered so many means of working to advantage this never-failing mine of public wealth, that he may be considered as mainly contributing towards the supply of the enormous sums necessary for carrying to a successful termination the vital conflict in which the British Empire was then engaged. He has indeed received his reward—he has completed his struc-

To the above list, I may add another publication still more intimately connected with my present subject, namely, a “ New Statistical Account of Scotland ;” or, as I would more correctly term it, a new edition of *the* Statistical Account, now in progress under the management of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons of the Clergy. To this benevolent institution, as I have already mentioned, my father presented the copy-right of his work. The new undertaking appears to be ably conducted, and to deserve the patronage of the public. In its arrangements and details, it does not differ materially from the old, a circumstance which proves that experience has suggested few improvements in the plan originally devised by Sir John Sinclair.

Testimonies to the value of the Statistical Account as a standard work of reference for the statesman and economist, to the talents, and zeal, and perseverance of the author, and to the industry, intelligence, and public spirit of his contributors, have been given by the highest authorities, both at home and abroad. Letters and documents, in the warmest terms of eulogy, are extant, in such profusion, from men well known in politics and in literature, that I feel embarrassed by the difficulty of selection. Andrews, the continuator of Henry’s History of Great Britain,

ture—he has lived to witness the increase of his reputation, and to receive the assurance that posterity will do him justice.”

speaking of his historical researches, says, "If any one can aid me, it must be the author of the Statistical Account of Scotland—a book which I have perused with great pleasure and astonishment; I may say envy, since the southern part of the island ought to blush at having never produced a similar work." * That eminent jurist, Jeremy Bentham, uses language not less pointed and eulogistic:—"That single work," says he, "is more valuable than an ordinary library." Dr Guthrie, the geographer, says, "Your Statistical Account, in my opinion, is the most perfect which has ever yet appeared; and will probably serve as a model to other countries." Count Hauterive pronounced Scotland the country "in which the spirit of observation was carried nearest to perfection." He adds, "The statistical information which it (the Account of Scotland) presents, is the most recent and the most complete that I have met with; and therefore most proper to give a just idea of the researches hitherto made, and of the degree of perfection to which they have been carried in our time." Count Hertzberg, formerly Prime Minister of Prussia, de-

* Andrews's character of the finished work reminds me of the anticipations of Dr Henry, whose plan he adopted, and whose work he continued. In a letter to my father at the commencement of the undertaking, this eminent writer had observed to him, that his "labours might be of great utility, greater, perhaps, than could be foreseen;" and remarked, "that he should be assisted by every Scotsman who had it in his power."

clared the plan to be particularly well formed ; adding, “ If I were again at the head of the Prussian cabinet, I would carry it into execution here.” The founder of the American Republic, General Washington, contemplated the work with warm sympathy, as an example, which, if followed in other countries, would contribute essentially to the welfare of the human species. “ I cannot,” says he, “ but express myself highly pleased with the undertaking in which you are engaged, and give my best wishes for its success. I am fully persuaded, that when enlightened men will take the trouble to examine so minutely into the state of society, as your enquiries seem to go, it must result in greatly ameliorating the condition of the people, promoting the interests of civil society, and the happiness of mankind at large. These are objects truly worthy the attention of a great mind ; and every friend to the human race must readily lend his aid towards their accomplishment.” I conclude with one more testimony, that of the celebrated writer on the Principles of Population :—“ The valuable accounts,” says Mr Malthus, “ which the author of the Statistical Account of Scotland has collected in that part of the island, do him the highest honour ; and will ever remain an extraordinary monument of the learning, good sense, and general information of the clergy of the Church of Scotland. That work, with a few subordinate improvements, and accurate and complete registers for the last 150 years (which,

however, no diligence could have effected), would have been inestimable ; and would have exhibited a better picture of the internal state of a country, than has yet been presented to the world." *

The biographer of Sir John Sinclair is bound to mention, that, with his usual disregard for private interests when objects of public utility were to be attained, the Baronet not merely gave the whole profits of his work, as has been stated, to the sons of the clergy, but incurred a very considerable expense in setting up and maintaining the vast machinery required for the prosecution and completion of his voluminous undertaking.

I have already mentioned, that, when my father originally projected his statistical enquiries, he intended merely to give a general digest or summary of the materials collected ; but that the excellence of the first reports transmitted to him by the clergy induced him to adopt the plan of parochial accounts. He did not, however, abandon the design of drawing up a general digest, but sketched a plan which he submitted for examination to a number of his friends. Among others, he consulted the historian of the Roman Republic—Dr Adam Ferguson. The answer of that venerable author, then in his 75th year, expresses views and feelings which the writer considered liberal ; but which many of his countrymen would condemn as anti-national.

* Malthus's Essays, 3d Edition, p. 13, Note.

“ Hallyards, near Peebles, 29th June, 1798.

“ My dear sir,

“ I now return, as you desire, the sketch, and will mention what occurs to me in the way of remark. Having already accomplished so much, it is natural for you to be sanguine in what you further propose. The sketch, accordingly, appears to me too vast for any powers but your own; but far be it from me, in word or thought, to discourage so laudable a design. Part of the Statistical Account might be concentrated in tables; and, for the use of those who must still wish to consult the original reports, a full index to the whole work will be extremely gratifying and useful. With respect to the projected analysis, it appears to me that the titles of the chapters and sections seem to place Scotland too much on the footing of a separate and independent state; as, in the terms, “ Political State of Scotland,” and “ Its system of Government,” “ Public Income and Expenditure,” “ Military State,” “ Naval State,” &c. &c. I do not apprehend that this language proceeds from any passion for local distinction in your mind; but it may fall in with such passion, or nurture it in others. I would therefore incline to have the whole matter treated merely as an account of the present state of certain northern counties or parishes of Great Britain; thus separately obtained, in consequence of particular circumstances relating to the clergy, and the author’s

more immediate connection with the districts in question ; to which might be added, a hope that the same thing may be extended gradually southwards as proper persons may be disposed to undertake the collection.

“ Scotland once had its separate patriots, and I am not sure but William Wallace was the greatest man that ever this island produced ; but if he were now alive, and did not feel for Great Britain precisely as in his own time he did for Scotland, I should think but meanly of his patriotism.

“ The whole of the original reports are not yet come to my hands. When I was in Edinburgh, I received the volumes regularly as they came out, up to the thirteenth, inclusive. I shall now, without delay, desire the remaining volumes to be sent to me by the bookseller with whom I commonly deal. I have the honour to be, my dear sir, your most obedient servant,

ADAM FERGUSON.”

Meanwhile, however, other objects intervened. My father's whole time was employed. Years passed away, and perhaps the digest never would have been attempted, but for a circumstance which he thus describes in his private memoranda :—“ At Dunrobin Castle,” (the seat of the Duke of Sutherland), “ on Thursday 28th August, 1823, I sat down to read Dr Currie's edition of the works of Robert Burns, printed in 1800. In a note, appended to the first volume, I

found the following paragraph on the expenses of education in Scotland. ‘ On this point accurate information may soon be expected from Sir John Sinclair’s Analysis of his Statistics, which will complete the immortal monument he has reared to his patriotism.’ I read this paragraph, written twenty-three years ago, with astonishment and shame; and I resolved that nothing should interfere with the execution of that Analysis, which I had promised so long before to the public.”

In the preparation of this summary, the author carefully perused the whole twenty-one Statistical volumes which he had already published, and arranged all the most important facts and observations contained in them, under fourteen heads. These he afterwards condensed into one volume, to which he added a history of Scotland, as a preface, and two appendices, relating to a variety of questions, literary, political, and ecclesiastical.

While the work was in the press, Sir John sent the sheets as they were thrown off, to several intelligent friends for their remarks. The following good-humoured strictures on the prospectus and introduction, by the Rev. Dr Andrew Thomson, of Edinburgh, may amuse the reader :—

“ 29, Melville Street, 24th May, 1824.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I have read your prospectus, but really I have

no amendments of any consequence to suggest. It appears to me to be skilfully drawn up, and to promise well for the Analysis.

“ In the list of metaphysicians, I should certainly not omit the late Dr Thomas Brown, who was fully more original than any of his predecessors, and had perhaps the acutest intellect that ever presided in the chair of moral philosophy.

“ Why leave out the name of Campbell from the list of poets? * He is much superior to Scott in depth of feeling, and in the other great attributes of the poetic character.

“ I am not sure that my friend Dr Chalmers should be described as a *meteor*. I hope that he is rather a *luminary*, as dazzling, I confess, but more permanent and useful, I hope, than a meteor.

“ I might offer a few remarks more of the same sort, but I fear you may think these trifling, and therefore I return you the prospectus, with my best thanks for your attention, and am,

“ Dear sir,

“ Your faithful servant,

“ ANDREW THOMSON.”

On forwarding the chapters on education and the poor to Mr Brougham, he received from him two

* This was of course a mere oversight. No man was prouder of having Campbell for his fellow-countryman than Sir John. —See his *History of the Highland Society of London*.

letters characteristic of the activity and perseverance with which that philosophical politician carried on his miscellaneous pursuits.

“ Brougham, 1st Nov. 1824.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I have been so much occupied, and interrupted too, since I came home from the Circuit, that I have never had time to commit to paper any remarks or suggestions upon the two very interesting and valuable digests of the poor and education parts of the Statistical Account, and to-morrow I leave this for London. But I propose occupying myself upon the education during the journey; and I shall send the sheets under separate covers, soon after my arrival.

“ You ask after my place of birth and relationship to Dr Robertson. I was born in St Andrew’s Square, Edinburgh, and Dr Robertson was my mother’s uncle. Believe me ever, with great esteem, your obliged and faithful servant,

H. BROUGHAM.”

“ My dear Sir,

“ I enclose a few notes upon the education portion of your digest. I have not returned the printed sheets, being very desirous of keeping them for my own use, as they contain much valuable matter, and many references; but I shall send them if you have

any objection to my retaining them. You may rely on their never getting out of my hands. Believe me most truly yours,

H. BROUGHAM.

“ Hill Street, Berkley Square, Nov. 7, 1824.”

This compendium was translated into French, under the patronage of M. Villele, Secretary of State for Finance, by M. Cordier, Principal Engineer of Roads and Bridges in the department of le Nord. M. Cordier's attention probably had been first directed to the work by a bulletin of the Geographical Society of Paris, which announced Sir John's intention to the public in France, and described the great interest with which the Society looked forward to its completion.*

The following is M. Cordier's announcement of his performance :—

“ Sir,

“ I find, in translating your excellent work, an attraction which is always increasing, both from the importance of its contents, and from the talents of its author, whose justly acquired reputation is spread all over Europe. Pray send me the continuation, so that the French copy may be published soon after the Scotch one. I may venture to assure you that your

* Bulletin de la Société de Géographie. Par M. de la Roquette Rédacteur, Nos. xxi and xxii. Ann. 1825.

book will have a great run in a country like this, where the subjects, which you treat with so much ability, are more and more attended to.

I read with the greatest interest the transactions of the society in Scotland you were so good as to send me, and which contain the most complete information upon the most important subjects.

It would give me great pleasure to pay a visit this year to your delightful country, the annals of which are connected with those of France, and with the history of all discoveries; and to visit one of the literary characters who does most honour to his country and to humanity, and with whom I feel the greatest desire to become acquainted.

“ I remain, with the greatest respect and gratitude, sir, your obedient and humble servant,

“ J. CORDIER.”

A German version, also, of the Analysis was published, but has never happened to come under my notice.

I close this history of the Statistical Account of Scotland with three documents—one a letter from the first Marquess of Lansdowne; the next a letter from Dr Gillies the historian, and the third an extract from Dr Purvis' work on the principles of population, containing a well-drawn comparison between economical speculation and statistical researches, with reference to their utility.

“ Bowood Park, 23d July, 1798.

“ Dear Sir,

“ The long continuance of this bad weather has prevented my gaining all the benefit I usually do by my way of life here, and has made me a very bad correspondent to all my friends, otherwise I certainly should not have been so to Sir John Sinclair; but it has given me an opportunity of seeing Mr Debary, who has been mostly with his father since he came into the country, and showing him the papers you did me the honour to send me. We are both decided in preferring the more philosophical arrangement. You make too much account of my judgment, especially in these extraordinary times when the best judgments go for nothing; but it appears to me, that the longer this strange state of things continues, the more certain the change; but which ever side gets the better, necessity, independent of all motives of morality, wisdom, and general policy, will render a new order of things indispensable; which can never produce the good intended, if it does not proceed upon those data, the collection of which seems to occupy the most enlightened part of the continent, but which you are the only person who has made any attempt worth mentioning to introduce with us. I earnestly hope that for your own credit, and the public good, you will not give up so honourable a pursuit; sooner or later it cannot fail of being taken up by Government. I am only in pain for the poor Board of

Agriculture, which, I am afraid, will share the fate of most public institutions, as soon as they are out of the care of the first institutor.

“ I am surprised that an universal register has never been brought forward, particularly in these scraping times, as it appears to me some revenue might be got from it without much dissatisfaction, and a great deal of knowledge acquired.

“ Henry and Mrs Debary I should do great injustice to, if I did not bear witness to the grateful sense they must ever retain of the kindness they experienced in Scotland.

“ Whenever you have any commands in this country, I hope you will honour me with them, and that you will believe me, with real esteem, dear sir, your faithful humble servant,

“ LANSDOWNE.

“ P.S.—When I have the pleasure of hearing from you again, will you have the goodness to tell me where I can find an account of the institution of schoolmasters in Scotland. I am curious to see what plan Government will adopt for the interior of Ireland, when these troubles are over.”

From Dr Gillies to Sir John Sinclair.

“ I have read with much pleasure the sketch of your Introduction, herewith returned ; and most earnestly hope and trust that you will have health and

leisure to undertake and bring to a conclusion the great work to which it is a prelude, and for the execution of which, in the best manner, no man in the kingdom is so well qualified as yourself. A performance of that kind, both in its own value, and the example which it sets to the world, soars above transient concerns and temporary employments, and is truly worthy of a *consul non unius anni*. Your complete analysis of the subject is what gives me particular delight, because in such complex matters as political economy, partial views, and the undue amplification of particular parts, are continually hurrying mankind into the greatest practical errors.

“ There are dark oblivious ages in the history of the world, during which the human mind remains buried in torpid inactivity. There are other periods when the vivid powers of men awaken from their lethargy, and, as if refreshed after a long and undisturbed repose, exert themselves with redoubled energy. The times in which we live belong to the latter description, but that they do so is owing to the generous and well-directed exertions of enlightened and patriotic individuals.

“ *Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.*”

The following is the passage above referred to from the pages of Dr Purvis.*

* Principles of Population and Production investigated by George Purvis, L.L.D. 8vo. 1818. P. 385.

“ Quesnay, Hume, Sir James Steuart, Adam Smith, Malthus, our bullionists, and many others of name, have lent their influence, more or less, to turn a plain science connected with clear everyday facts and causes, into an unintelligible medley of imaginary or contradictory causes, principles, and results, occult qualities, and every species of fancying and dreaming. The whole of this mysterious machinery of imagination and whim must, therefore, be swept away before this science can be really intelligible and of practicable use to men.

“ Fortunately, on the other hand, matter-of-fact statisticians have, during the same period, stood forward, and most essentially assisted the student and sober enquirer by procuring for them such a variety and amount of facts in all the branches of this science as perhaps were never laid before the student of any other science. At the head of these illustrious benefactors to statistics stands Sir John Sinclair, to whom that science and the cultivators of Britain, indeed of Europe, and consequently Europe itself, are so highly indebted. It is no small praise to these statisticians to say that they have done as much to advance the real progress of the science, as our theorists of highest name to retard it.”

CHAPTER II.

Board of Agriculture—Its origin—Motion in the Commons—Sir John Scott's Objections—Lord Chancellor Loughborough—Inaugural Address—Statistical Account of England—Letter to Archbishop Moore—County Reports—George III.—Duke of Clarence—Husbandry of Scotland—General Report of Scotland—Communications to the Board—Agriculture a Science—Patronage of Merit—Suggestions of the Board to Parliament—General Enclosure Bill—Indirect Advantages of the Board—Its Influence Abroad—Removal of its Founder—Public Regret and Indignation—George III.—Decline and Fall of the Board.

IN a country where a Board of Trade had existed for near a century, an intelligent observer of its operations and success would naturally conclude, that an establishment on a similar footing, and composed of similar materials, might be usefully applied to other departments of national industry. Even though Hartlib and Lord Kames had never thought of an institution for the encouragement of Agriculture, we might have taken for granted that the idea had occurred to thousands. Priority of statement, where an idea is obvious, can add but little to the reputation of the projector. Sir John Sinclair probably was not aware that the measure which he proposed had ever been before alluded to by any other individual; but the circumstance on which his merit in this case

depends, is, that he had the energy and perseverance to carry into effect what others passively contemplated or hopelessly desired.

Various considerations combined to make the establishment of such a Board an object of his patriotic ambition; agricultural observations during his tours abroad, information elicited by his statistical enquiries, discussions on the Corn Bill in 1791, and the success of the British Wool Society. In collecting materials for a pamphlet which he entitled, "An Address to the Landed Interest on the Corn Bill," he had been deeply impressed by the fact, that while we were alleged to be dependent on foreign countries for food, there existed in England alone twelve millions of acres almost in a state of nature; and that many statesmen were looking helplessly for subsistence to other countries, while they overlooked the abundant capabilities of their own. In this tract, he mentions having gone with other members of Parliament to the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the view of urging their objections to the proposed Corn Bill, which, without amendment, they conceived unfavourable to British Agriculture. At this interview Sir John explained how small a quantity of additional cultivation would have provided the whole amount of corn imported during the eighteen years preceding 1789. Mr Pitt listened with pleasure, and even with surprise, to the demonstration of a point so important to the safety and independence of the king-

dom. The fact that 15,000 acres would supply the deficiencies of the wheat crop, gave him peculiar satisfaction, which, to do him justice, he was not backward in declaring.*

The Baronet was likewise encouraged, by his experience as chairman of the British Wool Society, to hope that a public institution, devoted to Agriculture generally, might lead to results incomparably more valuable. He had seen an association, supported only by private subscription, effecting important changes in the existing system of pastoral economy; but he conceived that public aid and patronage were required to make the exertions of individuals permanent and successful. In the appendix to a report of that Society, he thus expresses himself:—"But unless this object is thought worthy of public attention and encouragement; unless a *Board of Agriculture is constituted* for the sole purpose of superintending the improvement of the sheep and wool of the country, and other objects connected either with the cultivation or with the pasturage of the soil, the exertions of any private society must soon slacken, and its labours become useless and inefficient; whereas, under the protection of the government of the country, and the superintendence of such a Board, properly constituted, (more especially if formed of persons who *gratuitously* devoted their services to promote such valuable and truly national interests), every field would soon be cultiva-

* See pages 8 and 18.

ted to the best advantage, and every species of stock would soon be brought to its greatest perfection.”*

From the period of making this suggestion, Sir John Sinclair laboured strenuously to carry it into effect. His prospect of success, however, was much diminished by the circumstance that he was at that time in Opposition, and had therefore little prospect of Ministerial support. He communicated his views to the Premier through Mr Secretary Dundas, from whom he learnt, with much regret and dissatisfaction, that Mr Pitt refused to countenance the project. It has already been recorded, that afterwards the Minister felt so sensibly the importance of my father's services in the affair of the Exchequer Bill Commission as to waive his objections. “The plan,” says Arthur Young, in a lecture delivered before the Board (1807), “would not probably have been attempted,

* A similar view was taken by the intelligent author of the article “Agriculture,” in Rees's *Cyclopædia*. After noticing the useful works of Young, Marshall, Anderson, and Bakewell, as also the occasional patronage which husbandry had received from patriots of eminence, he observes, “But neither the distinguished example of the sovereign, the endeavours of provincial societies, nor the exertions of private individuals, with whatever zeal or attention they may be directed, are probably sufficient to extend the knowledge of husbandry to that degree which is necessary for its complete and radical improvement. This could only be fully accomplished by the powerful influence, and expensive exertions of a national establishment instituted for the purpose. Such an institution has at last been brought forward and established by the intelligent and persevering efforts of Sir John Sinclair, to the honour of the country, the age, and the individual who suggested it.”

perhaps in our days, had it not fortunately occurred to an individual whom the Minister at the time was desirous of obliging, and who, in return for his services in contributing to the restoration of the commercial credit of the country (when the Exchequer Bills for that purpose were originally issued) requested the concurrence and support of that Minister to the establishment of a Board of Agriculture.”*

Anxious to carry his point on any terms consistent with the efficiency of the institution, and finding that one of Mr Pitt’s objections was grounded on the probable expense of the undertaking, the Baronet reduced his first estimate of L.10,500 a-year to L.5500, and even so low as L.2500. The sum finally agreed upon by the Minister was L.3000.

The method adopted by Sir John was, to move in the House of Commons for an Address to the Crown, recommending the establishment of the Board, and promising to make good the expense. When Mr Pitt, previous to this motion, proposed in the Cabinet that Ministers should support it, the only individual who concurred with him was Mr Secretary Dundas. All the others, and in particular Lord Hawkesbury, afterwards Earl of Liverpool, were against it. The influence, however, of the Premier and the Secretary prevailed.

To prepare the House for his intended proposal,

* Lecture, p. 2. London : Philips.

the mover distributed among the members a printed outline of his plan, with a statement of its probable advantages. To conciliate opponents, he suggested that, by way of experiment, the Board should be established for five years, and that its continuance after that period should be contingent on its ascertained usefulness.

The Baronet made his intended motion on the 15th of May 1793. The objections which he anticipated were, that the proposed Board would be useless, dictatorial, and expensive. To the first objection he replied, that provincial societies for the same purpose confessedly exerted a beneficial influence in particular districts, and that a national institution would exert a similar influence, not only with greater energy, but over the whole kingdom. In answer to the second, he declared that nothing could be farther from his intention than to dictate how the farmer was to cultivate his lands or improve his stock. The object was simply to collect information on these points ; to print and circulate that information when collected ; to encourage a spirit of experiment ; and to reward with public countenance, and perhaps with public aid, such agriculturists as showed a good example of rural industry to their neighbours. As to expense, he compared the smallness of the sum required, with the magnitude of the results to be expected. He pointed out the number of acres throughout Great Britain, which, with proper encouragement, might be

brought into cultivation, or rendered more productive. He expatiated on the advantages which would result from improved breeds of farm-stock, from improved instruments of husbandry, from the general adoption of useful practices peculiar to certain districts, and also from the introduction of foreign discoveries in agriculture into our own country. He concluded by moving, that "an humble address be presented to the King, entreating that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration the advantages which might be derived by the public from the establishment of a Board of Agriculture and internal improvement." Lord Sheffield, an able and experienced agriculturist, seconded the motion, which was supported by Sir William Dolben, Mr Wilberforce, Mr Dundas, and Mr Pitt. On a suggestion of Mr Hussey, that more time and a fuller House were required for the investigation of the subject, the debate was adjourned till the 16th.

On that day Sir John renewed his motion, which was seconded by Mr Buxton, the champion of negro emancipation. Mr Hussey, now formally opposed the plan. He objected to the expense, and insisted that the efficiency of private associations for the same purpose superseded the necessity of a public Board. He was supported by Mr Sheridan, who, after indulging in some characteristic jocularities, proposed, as an amendment, that the Board should be established, provided that no expense whatever attending the

same should fall upon the public. Other members of Opposition treated the subject with more gravity. Mr Fox alleged that the whole measure was a mere *job*, and was likely to be converted into an instrument of ministerial patronage. After some few remarks from Mr Pitt in favour of the motion, and by Mr Grey (now Earl Grey) against it, Mr Sheridan's amendment was negatived, and the House then divided on the original motion, when there appeared, ayes 101, noes 26.*

My father now conceived that all his difficulties were at an end ; but some farther delays occurred on the part of the Attorney-General, Sir John Scott, (afterwards Earl of Eldon), and the Solicitor-General, Sir John Mitford (afterwards Lord Redesdale), who were at a loss to determine on what footing the new institution could be legally placed. The following letter of the former explains the doubts, and illustrates the characteristic caution and sagacity of that great legal authority.

“ Dear sir,

“ When I saw Mr Pitt yesterday, after he had read the address of the Commons, his final opinion and direction was, that if the project was to proceed now, you must be incorporated in the ordinary man-

* Mr Sheridan and several of the minority afterwards candidly acknowledged the utility of the institution, and wished to see the Board supported in such a manner as would ensure its usefulness and respectability.

ner, and the sense of Parliament must be taken upon granting to you the L.3000 a-year for a limited time, as a distinct measure.

“ The Solicitor-General and I have settled the enclosed draught, therefore, in the ordinary manner. We are at a loss how to make you a corporation as a board. The address of the Commons has proceeded upon the idea that his Majesty could give some legal character to a board as a board, though not constituted to do the office of some great state officer whose office is vacant, or to execute some duty incident to the character of king, to execute as such. We do not immediately perceive what duty of his Majesty he can delegate the execution of to a Board of Agriculture. If you are to be a corporation, and not a board, you must be content with such style as belongs to a corporation. It appears to us that a board subsists upon principles of a different kind from those upon which a corporation subsists. If you are to be a board, you should act by a commission, which would not incorporate you, or give you the powers and faculties which such a charter as this gives you. If you choose to give up these powers and faculties, and to be a board by commission, we incline to think it has been too hastily taken for granted that the Crown has a power to institute by commission, boards, the objects of whose functions do not appear to be in any manner connected with the legal functions of the Crown.

“ When you have settled your mind upon this sub-

ject, the draught must be sent to Mr Grubb's office.
Yours, with great respect, J. SCOTT."

The difficulties suggested in this letter were eventually overcome, and a charter was drawn up, with the concurrence of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, instituting the Board, and declaring it to be "for ever thereafter a body politic and corporate." By this instrument Sir John Sinclair was appointed President till the 25th of March following, when a formal election to the chair was appointed to take place. The *ex-officio* members consisted of the great Officers of State, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London and Durham, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the President of the Royal Society, the Surveyor-General of Woods and Forests, and the Surveyor of Crown Lands. The ordinary members were the Dukes of Grafton, Bedford, and Buccleuch; the Marquess of Bath; the Earls of Winchelsea, Hopetoun, Fitzwilliam, Egremont, Lonsdale, Moira, and Carysfort; the Bishop of Llandaff; Lords Hawke, Clive, and Sheffield; besides the following commoners:—Sir Charles Morgan, Bart.; Messrs Wyndham, Marsham, Pulteney, Coke, Powys, Duncombe, Loveden, Somerville, Barclay, Smith, Sumner, Conyers, Willoughby, and Geary. Sir John Call was appointed Treasurer, and Mr Arthur Young, Secretary.

Conceiving that no further obstacles could now

possibly arise, my father ventured to appoint a meeting of the members for a certain day, at his house in Whitehall, when unexpectedly, and to his great mortification, Lord Loughborough, then Chancellor, made a punctilious scruple about affixing the Great Seal to the charter. In the midst of preparations for the expected meeting, the zeal and promptitude of the President were met by the following announcement.*

“ Tunbridge Wells, 23d August, 10 P.M. 1793.

“ Sir,

“ I received, on the 21st, your letter, informing me ‘ that the difficulties attending the establishment of a Board of Agriculture were so nearly surmounted, that it rests entirely with the Great Seal, the *forms* of which, you trusted, would be gone through so quickly, that you had ventured to request the attendance of the members of the Board on Thursday (the 22d); and this evening, about nine o’clock, I have received the instrument itself, with your letter, desiring the Great Seal to be affixed to it, as several gentlemen had come to town to attend the meeting to-morrow.’

“ During my long stay in town, which I left only last Saturday, no draught of this instrument was ever

* Throughout this Chapter, where the term *President* occurs, I always mean Sir John Sinclair, unless where the contrary is specified.

communicated to me ; and the first inspection I have had of it, in its present form, is about an hour ago. It must indeed be supposed, that to affix the Great Seal is a mere form, if it is to be gone through so quickly; but, knowing that it is a very sacred duty to attend, with the most exact care, to every instrument of an unusual nature, and even upon the hasty perusal of this instrument entertaining considerable doubt as to the legality of some of its parts, I should stand highly responsible if I were to pass it on so slight a consideration as has been prescribed to me.

“ With the disposition I have to think favourably of the institution, I should be very ready to abridge all ceremony, and in my wish to accommodate the gentlemen who have been requested to attend to-morrow, I should have overlooked the mere irregularity of the proceeding in not communicating the warrant to me ; but the frame of the instrument itself is such, that I hold it necessary to be informed of the grounds upon which the Attorney and Solicitor-General have proceeded, before these letters-patent pass the Great Seal. I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

“ LOUGHBOROUGH.”

The surprise of my father at this angry demur was the greater, since he had received, not long before, from the same high quarter, an actual acknowledgment of having been put in possession of the draught in question, and of having examined it with almost

unqualified approbation. Evidently the Chancellor must have forgotten the substance of his former communication, which was as follows :—

“ The Lord Chancellor presents his compliments to Sir John Sinclair, and returns him many thanks for his polite attention in sending him the draught of the proposed commission for the Board of Agriculture. He thinks, with a very few alterations, it will do perfectly well ; and will take the earliest opportunity of consulting the Attorney-General on the subject.

“ Bedford Square, Monday evening.”

At the first meeting of the Board, Sir John Sinclair pronounced an address, corresponding in character with those delivered to the Royal Society and to the Royal Academy by their respective presidents, a practice which he annually repeated. He began by congratulating the members on the important fact that the patronage of agriculture had been removed from the feeble hands of individuals, and committed to the care of a great national institution. He observed that his Majesty had been graciously pleased to nominate him their President, rather as the proposer of the establishment than as the individual best qualified for the office by talent or experience. His large correspondence, however, with above fifteen hundred individuals, as chairman of the society for the improve-

ment of British wool, and as conductor of the Statistical Account of Scotland, had given him an advantageous position for ascertaining the principles which ought to govern the proceedings of the present new foundation.

He stated his conviction that there existed in the country such immense agricultural resources, such unbounded means of improvement, and such a fund of intellectual power, that, were this power called into exercise, these means applied, and these resources directed to proper objects, Great Britain would be made, what it ought to be, the garden of Europe. He expressed his confidence that the agriculturists of the kingdom were possessed of greater public spirit than was usually ascribed to them, and would readily try experiments and follow practices at once conducive to the public good, and not seriously detrimental to their private interests. Suggestions of this nature would come with more authority from a public board than from private individuals or local associations.

He anticipated some jealousy of the new institution, some rumours to its disadvantage, but he never doubted that in so good a cause industry and perseverance would be triumphant. The great national benefits resulting from the exertions of the Society would silence all opposers. Millions of acres would be redeemed from barrenness, and the whole stock of the kingdom would be ultimately doubled in value.

The first great object of the Board, he observed,

should be to collect facts, as the foundation of theory, and the elements of just and conclusive reasoning. Such information, were it once obtained, would be equally a guide to the farmer, to the landlord, and to the statesman ; to the farmer, by instructing him how to cultivate his fields ; to the landlord, by showing him how to manage his estate ; to the statesman, by pointing out how obstacles and discouragements to improvement might be removed, and facilities created. He instanced Prussia as an example of what royal patronage might effect in the case of agriculture. The great Frederick had doubled by this means the value of his dominions, and had amassed a treasure amounting to many millions sterling.* He expressed his confidence that the benefits of the institution would not be limited to Britain, but that the hopes of foreign nations would be realized, and the Board become a general magazine of agricultural knowledge for the benefit of the world. “ Agriculture,” he said, “ has this advantage over other arts, that no jealousy subsists among those who are enga-

* Brenkenhoff, a Prussian agriculturist, brought from Archangel a sort of rye which proved extremely useful throughout the Prussian dominions. Conscious of this great service, whenever he had any favour to ask of the King, he always said,—“ Had I not brought rye from Archangel, your Majesty and your subjects would have been without many thousands you now possess. It is therefore proper that you should grant my request.” The King refused him nothing, and often said, “ I am proud of Brenkenhoff.”—See BARON RIESCHBECK’S *Travels through Germany*.

ged in it, but every discovery which tends to its improvement contributes more essentially than any other to the general good of the species."

He concluded his inaugural address with a pledge, which all acquainted with his history will allow him to have abundantly redeemed by instances of self-denial and sacrifices of fortune, which few make, and almost every one might be pardoned for not attempting. He assured his coadjutors, that, seconded by their hearty co-operation, he would dedicate the whole of his time and labour to the great objects contemplated by the Board, fully convinced that no objects could be more gratifying to the mind at the moment, or recollected afterwards with more heartfelt satisfaction.

The new institution commenced its operations by taking measures for prosecuting a statistical account of England, upon the same plan with that of Scotland, then successfully in progress. The Board printed queries, and prepared specimens of parochial accounts for circulation throughout the ten thousand parishes of England. Arguing from his experience in Scotland, the President anticipated the completion of a magnificent national work from the combined talents and scholarship of the English clergy. He drew up a paper, explaining to them the nature and principles of statistical philosophy, and urging them to exertion by every motive of emulation, of duty, and of public spirit. "The clergy of the Church of

England," he says, "who have so long been distinguished by their superiority in every branch of literature, will not surely suffer so favourable an opportunity to escape of adding to their character and their fame. It is an undertaking which, however great and laborious, they undoubtedly have the power, and I have no doubt it will be found they have also the inclination, to accomplish." *

The completion of a statistical account of England was anticipated not only with general satisfaction at home, but with great interest on the Continent, as a work of inestimable value, such as no other nation was possessed of.†

At this stage, however, of Sir John's proceedings, an obstacle unexpectedly arose which frustrated the whole design. One of the subjects introduced among the queries referred to, was that of *tithes*, preparatory to a plan of equitable and permanent commutation. But it was suggested to Dr Moore, then Archbishop of Canterbury, that all agitation of that question was dangerous; and that the Board, by introducing it, indicated a want of due consideration for the interests of the establishment. His Grace accordingly waited upon the Prime Minister, and informed him, that, if he sanctioned this proceeding, he would lose the friendship and support of the church. On receiving

* The address may be seen in the communications to the Board, vol. i., Appendix, F.

† *Décade Philosophique, Littéraire et Politique.*

this communication, Mr Pitt intimated to the President, that the Board would be under the necessity of giving up its parochial investigations. Before abandoning a plan which he had much at heart, Sir John addressed a letter to the Archbishop, with the view of removing his opposition. After some complimentary expressions to His Grace, he proceeds to state the increasing dissatisfaction of agriculturists with the existing tithe arrangements, and particularly with the liability of the farmer to the exaction of tithes in kind. He mentions the difficulty he had found in preventing the public expression of these feelings by the farming interest, and then proceeds :—" I am persuaded it is most for the interest of all parties, that a question of so much delicacy and importance should be taken up by the Board of Agriculture—a body in which so many respectable prelates have officially a seat ; whose opinions will be listened to with the attention due to their office, their character, and their talents ; and where also the most intelligent and respectable members of the landed interest are assembled. The subject, if discussed by such persons, cannot fail to be considered in every possible point of view ; and it cannot be doubted that all the parties interested will have justice done to their respective rights and privileges. The only measure in immediate contemplation, is to abolish the exaction of tithes in kind.* At the same time, the conversion of

* " I have known lands hired and purchased for improvement,

tithes, either into land or into a corn-rent, in any manner that may be most acceptable to the Church of England, will, I am persuaded, be readily acceded to; the object being merely to put an end to that indefinite system of exaction so injurious to agriculture. I must take the liberty of adding, that at a period when new systems are establishing in other countries, and when a republican government in France, where no tithes are permitted, is already virtually acknowledged by this country, it seems to me indispensably necessary for the peace and prosperity of Great Britain, and for the security of the church, that every obstacle to raising food for the people should be removed, and that we should not furnish ground for an unfavourable contrast between our own political situation and that of our neighbours."

My father never ceased to lament the ill success of the foregoing appeal to the Primate as a calamity,

the rent of which was from 1s. to 2s. 6d. per acre; the expense of the improvement has amounted to from L.10 to L.12 per acre; and the produce raised in consequence has been from L.4 to L.6. Tithe taken in kind, in such a case, would amount to as much as the interest of the capital employed; that is, the improver would have ten per cent interest to pay on the money expended, instead of five per cent. There is not a practical farmer in Great Britain, who would not agree that such a payment would be an absolute prohibition on the whole undertaking; for seeing this subject in the same light as that in which every man of common sense must see it, the Board was represented as an enemy to the church."—ARTHUR YOUNG'S *Lecture*, p. 62.

both to the landed interest and to the church. Not only, as he conceived, did this archiepiscopal intervention serve to perpetuate a grievous obstacle to agricultural improvement, but also to keep alive a source of constant irritation and heartburning between the clergyman and his parishioners ; diminishing the comforts and usefulness of the one, and alienating from the establishment the affections of the other. The mysterious veil under which the Archbishop sought to keep the property of the church concealed, produced effects the very opposite to what his Grace intended. Suspicions arose that funds so studiously withheld from view must be enormous, and far greater than the maintenance of the clergy required. A spirit of cupidity was called forth, which a candid disclosure, from the first, of the whole truth would never have excited ; but which, once excited, no subsequent disclosure could effectually put down. My father, therefore, naturally feared that no better opportunity for an equitable and satisfactory adjustment of the question ever would occur, than at the period when the Board of Agriculture now offered its mediation.

Baffled in his attempt to obtain parochial accounts of England, the President had recourse to the plan of county reports—"The immense undertaking," as Arthur Young terms it, "of surveying fourscore provinces, that is to say, an empire, in which no district was to be omitted, from the Land's End to the Orkneys."—"When we reflect," continues this compe-

tent authority, “upon the courage manifested in making this attempt with the limited grant of L.3000, and in addition to all the other objects which occupied the attention of the Board, it will be impossible not to admire the vigour of mind which induced him (the President) to make an experiment that may be called *stupendous*, when compared with the means that existed for its support.”

Having drawn up a plan under distinct heads, so as to secure a general uniformity in the returns, Sir John Sinclair (for to him the whole management of the work was committed by the Board) employed in every county the ablest person he could find to draw up rough sketches, or, as he termed them, *printed manuscripts*, to be circulated among intelligent farmers for additions and corrections. This plan was sometimes objected to on the ground of expense ; but he conceived that by no other means was he so likely to procure a full and minute account of the multifarious subjects to be explained ; besides that, in some instances, he could not discover agents whose performances might be put forth under the sanction of the Board without amendment.

Notwithstanding the immense surface of territory to be examined and described, these surveys were accomplished at an expense incredibly small ; not much more than L.100 for each district, or in all L.10,000. The parsimonious supplies granted to the Board were considered as a reproach to the nation ;

and obliged the President reluctantly to employ, in this national work, persons to whose services he could afford a remuneration so inadequate, that, as Arthur Young indignantly remarked, “the whole allowance made to each surveyor did not exceed three months’ travelling expenses of a shopkeeper’s rider.”*

Although these county reports were drawn up for the Board of Agriculture, they are not confined merely to agricultural enquiries, but embrace such a variety of information, as to deserve the title of improved local histories, or statistical accounts of each particular district throughout the kingdom. They describe the geographical circumstances of every county; state of property; character of the buildings; political resources, whether from rent, produce, or profit; progress of manufactures and commerce, and their effects on agriculture; improvements made by roads and canals; state of the fisheries; amount of population; and, lastly, employment and maintenance of the poor. The returns with respect to agriculture include the tenure of landed property; the effect of long and short leases; the payments to which land is subjected, whether in rent, tithe, or

* Brewster’s *Encyclopædia*—Article, Agriculture. “Although British Agriculture with so much difficulty obtained the scanty encouragement of L.3000 a-year, there was no difficulty afterwards in obtaining many times that amount for the Agricultural Societies of Ireland. The Dublin Society obtained annually from the public purse L.8000; the Farming Society, L.2500; and the Cork Institution, L.2300.”

parochial taxes ; the size of farms, and the different results of large and small occupancies ; the extent of enclosures, whether made by private exertion, or under public authority ; the implements of husbandry, comprehending notices of tools and machines peculiar to certain districts, but capable of general application ; the extent of pasturage and meadows, of woods, plantations, and waste lands ; the price of rural labour ; the means employed to ameliorate the soil, whether by draining, irrigation, paring, burning, manuring, or embanking ; and, finally, the state of live stock, with the various improvements made in that department of rural economy. Referring to these documents in their complete form, “ It may be asserted with safety,” says Arthur Young, “ that no enquirer into the facts on which the science of political economy ought to be founded, can neglect consulting these works, without manifesting an ignorance proportioned to such neglect ; in fact, they may be as useful to a member of the Legislature, as they ought to be to a practical farmer ; and I do not found this assertion on a reference to a few of the *best* of these productions, but am justified in the opinion by a perusal of the worst. It must be in the recollection of many members of the House of Commons, that Mr Pitt founded many of his calculations, that were brought forward in a budget, on the information derived from one of these reports.” Some time afterwards this active and well informed secretary, in a communica-

tion to the President, uses similar expressions. “ I dare say,” he writes, “ you have got all the reports in full operation, and will at last have the satisfaction of seeing that immense work completed, which I believe no one but yourself would ever have effected.”*

This eulogium from the pen of Mr Arthur Young may be followed up by those of other eminent agriculturists. “ In the course of little more than one year,” says Dr James Anderson, “ the Board of Agriculture has printed already a number of authentic facts respecting the agricultural and internal economy of this country, greater than was ever obtained in any other nation since the beginning of time ; on which facts the political enquirer can ground his reasonings on many of the most important topics that can ever engage his attention, with a degree of certainty he could never have otherwise acquired.”† Dr Coventry, Professor of Agriculture in the University of Edinburgh, uses language equally decided : declaring that, “ in the corrected reports and publications therewith connected, there is detailed more useful and distinct information, on various branches of agriculture, and on rural concerns in general, than was in print before these were drawn up.”‡ In a letter to the President, Mr George Dempster, M.P.

* Letter, dated Bradfield Hall, December 30, 1808.

† See *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 4.

‡ *Discourses on Agriculture and Rural Economy*, October, 1808, vol. i. p. 187.

for Forfar, says, "I have purchased all the Agricultural Reports; they are composed with care, and drawn up in a masterly manner, and are, in my opinion, inestimable." *

One of the contributors to this series of reports was the President himself, who undertook and completed the task of describing the three northern counties of Scotland.

Among the many advantages arising from these reports, not the least important was the extension throughout the kingdom of discoveries and practices before confined to certain districts. One example will be sufficient: On the banks of the Humber, a peculiar method of improvement, known by the name of *warping*, had for a long period been successfully employed. A river, charged with alluvial matter, was allowed to flow gently into a field embanked for that purpose, and to remain there until the mud or *warp* was deposited, when the clear water was drained off again. Every agriculturist is now familiar with the term, but the practice was never so much as mentioned in any work on agriculture, till it was brought to light by the surveys of the Board. On the great fertility resulting from this process, it would be needless for me to enlarge.†

A distinguished encourager of the Board in this great national survey was King George III., who,

* Letter, dated Dunnichen, 30th June, 1807.

† Address to the Board. 1813.

to his other estimable qualities, added zeal for Agriculture. The President addressed a letter to his Majesty, representing to him the importance of the undertaking; the difficulty of finding persons willing as well as able to take a share in its execution; and the advantage which the Board might derive from being enabled to tell the public that the King took an interest in their labours, and had asked for a list of their surveyors. The following answer, written in the King's name, was sent to the President by the Hon. R. F. Greville:—

“ Sir,

“ I had the honour of receiving yours from Edinburgh of the 23d instant, and had the honour this day of presenting to his Majesty the letter enclosed and directed to him. His Majesty, in answer to it, was pleased to command me to say, that he much approves of the proceedings of the Board of Agriculture, and the zeal with which you as President have forwarded them. His Majesty was also pleased to add, that he considers the success of the Board of Agriculture as a concern which very essentially interests the general good of the community at large, and that he shall consider every person who comes forward with his assistance on this business as contributing importantly to the good of his country.

“ I am further commanded by his Majesty to inform you, that he thinks, during the time you are

sending to those whose abilities have pointed them out to your notice, as proper persons to assist you in the final execution of the work, that you would do right to digest thoroughly the plan of the whole under the chapters you mention ; and when you have finally settled (to your satisfaction) with them, the ‘ General Report,’ his Majesty is pleased to say, that he shall be glad to look at the heads of the chapters of a work which, when completed, promises such general improvement to the interests of his kingdoms, and to which the attention of the Board of Agriculture is so constantly directed.

“ The names also of the gentlemen who come forward in assisting you in arranging the General Report will, I am also commanded by his Majesty to say, be very acceptable. I have the honour to be, sir,

“ Your most obedient and faithful servant,

“ ROBERT F. GREVILLE.

“ Weymouth, 29th Aug. 1794.”

Another evidence may here be mentioned of the patriotic interest taken by George III. in the proceedings of the Board. It is a letter transmitted to the President, by his Majesty’s command, from the Royal Electoral Society of Rural Economy at Zell. The secretary, Dr Thaer, informs Sir John that the King having taken that society under his especial patronage, had commanded them to form the closest possible connexion with the British Board of Agri-

culture, and to establish, for the common benefit of his dominions, as well insular as continental, a constant interchange of intelligence and productions. The Doctor adds, that the Hanoverian agriculturists, in common with their brethren in Great Britain, had much at heart the preparation of a general enclosure bill, and that the King had assured them of his assistance in the removal of that grievous obstacle to extended cultivation.

By the following extracts of a letter from the Duke of Clarence, it will be evident to the reader that His Royal Highness inherited a large share of the predilection for Agriculture, which marked the character of his venerable father. “ Though the son of the late king, I believe I may, with equal truth and satisfaction, assert, that whenever time has softened down the events of the late reign, the British empire will do justice to George III., and acknowledge him to have been a monarch most honourably and ably attached to those over whom he was placed by the Almighty.

“ I have endeavoured to imbibe his ideas, and to arrange my thoughts on the various points connected with the interests of this great empire, according to his experience and judgment, after so many years of constant trial.

“ I have in particular venerated the attention paid by our late revered Sovereign to Agriculture, which I have ever considered to be the surest foundation of

the commercial and manufacturing energies and prosperity of the country."

The importance of a national survey, such as that effected by the Board, may be estimated from the eagerness with which the plan was adopted in the countries most anxious for the developement of their own resources. In Russia, the Rev. Arthur Young, son of the secretary, and one of the surveyors to the Board, was engaged by the Government, at a great expense, to draw up a report for the province of Moscow, as an example of what might be done in other parts of that great empire.* In France, a national survey was begun under the Directory, and carried forward with great energy by the Emperor Napoleon; but as M. Say, the great French economist, observes, in a letter to Sir John Sinclair, dated Paris, 25th January 1821, "It is hardly to be credited that Buonaparte, with all his power, could never obtain from all his prefects and sub-prefects those reports which he frequently demanded from them with regard

* From the following letter of Mr Arthur Young, senior, to my father, dated 26th Feb. 1805, it would appear that the Russian government, in their zeal for statistical enquiries, attempted to inveigle the secretary himself. "My son and his wife go to Moscow in a fortnight. The Emperor Alexander will have reports of all the governments of Russia like ours, and Arthur goes to do the government of Moscow for an example—thirteen times as large as Norfolk—they wanted me, but—the Board."

to the statistics of France.* There is here," he continues, "in the department of the Minister of the Interior, a Board of Statistics, which scarcely furnishes any thing useful to the researches of the learned. It is very difficult, therefore, beyond the boundaries of Great Britain, to procure any thing either complete or worthy of credit." The illustrious founder of the American republic, the great Washington, whom I have already quoted among my father's confidential correspondents, thus expresses his opinion of these reports: "I have read, with much pleasure and approbation, the work you patronise, so much to your own honour and the utility of the public. Such a general view of agriculture in the several counties of Great Britain is extremely interesting, and cannot fail of being very beneficial to the agricultural concerns of your country, and to those of every other wherein they are read, and must entitle you to their warmest thanks for having set such a plan on foot, and for prosecuting it with the zeal and intelligence you do. I am so much pleased with the plan and execution myself, as to pray you to have the goodness to direct your bookseller to continue to forward them to me. When the whole are received, I will promote, as far in me lies, the reprinting of them here.

* "Croyriez-vous que Buonaparte, malgré tout son pouvoir, n'a jamais pu obtenir de la totalité des préfets et sous-préfets, les rapports qu'il leur a plusieurs fois demandés, sur la Statistique de la France?"

“ I know of no pursuit in which more real and important service can be rendered to any country, than by improving its agriculture, its breed of useful animals, and other branches of a husbandman’s care ; nor can I conceive any plan more conducive to this end, than the one you have introduced for bringing to view the actual state of them in all parts of the kingdom, by which good and bad habits are exhibited in a manner too plain to be misconceived. For, the accounts given to the British Board of Agriculture appear in general to be drawn up in a masterly manner, so as fully to answer the expectations formed in the excellent plan which produced them ; affording, at the same time, a fund of information useful in political economy, and serviceable in all countries.”

Upon the basis of these volumes, which amounted in all to fifty, the Board proposed to construct two “ General Reports,” one for Scotland, and another for England, comprising, in a condensed form, all the valuable materials scattered throughout the whole collection. Having, in the case of Scotland, the advantage of parochial accounts, the President resolved to commence with that country. At the request, however, of Sir Joseph Banks, he was induced previously to draw up a work, entitled, “ An account of the Husbandry of Scotland.” Sir Joseph had a high opinion of the skill, intelligence, and economy of the Scottish farmers. “ Agriculture,” he said, “ has derived, is deriving, and will derive more benefit from

Scotch industry and skill, than has been accumulated since the days when Adam first wielded the spade."

In the preparation of this work, Sir John visited the districts in Scotland most celebrated for cultivation; circulated queries among the most intelligent farmers; compared their answers so as to form them into a regular system; and distributed the results in a printed form to receive the remarks of intelligent friends. On transmitting copies of these results to Arthur Young, the Secretary returned the following reply:—

"Mr Young has read the papers on the husbandry of Scotland with attention; and he waits, with great impatience, to see a work complete which will form a new era in agricultural knowledge. He sincerely hopes that Sir John Sinclair will be blessed with health, strength, and spirits to perfect so great an undertaking.

"Bradfield, September 4, 1810."

When the whole work was completed, the author sent a copy to Sir Joseph Banks, accompanied with the following letter:—

"My dear Sir Joseph,

"I have at last the pleasure of sending you a complete copy of the work, undertaken at your desire, on the Husbandry of Scotland. Whether you

will have any grounds to regret having made the request, from defects in the execution of the plan, or I to lament complying with your wishes, in consequence of the peltings which I shall receive, as a matter of course, from the critics who may be induced to rail at it, will, in process of time, appear. At all events, I shall have one satisfaction, that it may be the means of handing down our names to posterity together, as zealous friends to the improvement and agricultural prosperity of the country."

Sir Joseph's answer, dated Soho Square, March 11, 1812, was as follows :

" On my return from Lincolnshire this morning, I found your favour, and am thankful for it in all ways. I thank you for having allowed my little bark to sail in company with your vessel down the stream of time. I have no fear of criticism on your book. It contains a mass of valuable information, sufficient to resist all the attacks which envy and malice can aim at it."

Passing over many eminent authorities in the south, I shall only add another from the extreme north.* In

* Above fifty of the most distinguished practical agriculturists in England and the Lowlands of Scotland wrote letters to my father, expressing, in the strongest terms, their cordial approbation of his work. I may instance Bishop Watson, Arthur Young, George Culley, Brown of Markle, Brodie of Scoughall,

a letter to Sir John, dated Kirkwall, 10th November, 1812, Malcolm Laing, the historian, writes :—" From your truly valuable work on Scottish husbandry, I have derived more real information than I ever met with before."

The approbation of these agriculturists is confirmed by that of the eminent statist, Mr Malthus. " I found," says he, writing to the President, " your husbandry of Scotland full of interesting information, and some that I particularly wished to obtain."

The work in question proved as useful abroad as it was at home. It became well known upon the continent in consequence of the greater part having been translated and introduced into the *Bibliothèque Britannique*.* It appears also to have contributed towards diffusing the Scottish system of husbandry over America. The latter fact is stated by Mr John Young, Secretary to the Agricultural Society of Nova Scotia, in a communication to Sir John Sinclair, accompanying a copy of Mr Young's valuable letters of *Agricola* on the principles of vegetation and tillage.†

Soon after the " Husbandry of Scotland" appeared the " General Report" of that kingdom, for which preparation had for some time been making. This

Robertson of Almond, Dudgeon of Primrose-hill, Rennie of Oxwell-mains, Robertson of Ladykirk, Hume of East Barns, Dempster of Dunnichen, &c.

* Bib. Brit. tom. xix., et seq.

† Letter, dated Halifax, 4th January, 1823.

elaborate performance consists of five closely printed volumes, three occupied by the report itself, and two by an appendix. The report describes not only the agricultural state, but the political circumstances of Scotland; and, under nineteen heads, comprises all the information necessary, in the opinion of the Board, either to the executive or the legislative, for the government of the country. In the appendix are contained details and authorities not interesting to the general reader.

As this digest, unlike the county surveys, was to be published by authority, no exertion was omitted to make it accurate and complete. In preparing the county surveys, the Board had frequently no choice of writers, and had, therefore, declared expressly that it would not be answerable for the statements made. Ill-natured critics, however, affecting ignorance of this fact, blamed the Institution for all the errors and discrepancies to be discovered in that vast collection. Such severity of criticism should have been reserved for the General Report, for which the Board acknowledged itself responsible. In drawing up this work, the best informed agriculturists were selected as contributors; to each of them one, or, at the utmost, two or three chapters were intrusted; and in cases where the subject was of great importance, a single section only was committed to one writer. So various are the questions connected, either directly or indirectly, with the agricultural interests, the political economy,

or the internal improvement of a country, that no one individual, nor even two or three individuals, it was conceived, were competent to explain them all. A corn farmer might be unacquainted with the management of grass land,—a grazier might not be able to describe the buildings or the implements of husbandry necessary to the farmer. Persons, therefore, peculiarly conversant with each subject were selected; all the information in the county surveys belonging to their respective departments was afforded them; together with any other publications which, in conjunction with their own personal observation and experience, might enable them to complete the portions of the work which they had severally undertaken. The chapters or sections thus prepared, were afterwards submitted, in a printed form, to the revision of the best informed farmers and political economists. The outline was formed, and the execution superintended, by the President.

It will not be expected of me to describe in detail the subject-matter of the “General Report.” As the work itself professes to be an abridgement, I shall not attempt to abridge it further; but shall content myself with bringing forward a few out of the many distinguished testimonies before me to its utility and completeness.

George Dempster, M. P., than whom no man was better acquainted with Scotland, calls this Report “the best geographical description ever published of

any kingdom.”* Sir Humphrey Davy, in the advertisement to the first edition of his “Lectures on Agricultural Chemistry,” after expressing his regret that the book had not come into his hands till the concluding sheets of his lectures were printed, adds, “Had it been in circulation before, I should have profited by many statements given in it.” Count Hauterive, in his *Elements of Political Economy*, remarks, “that the work was certainly one of the first extant in positive information, and in judicious remarks. I am persuaded,” he continues, “that it will be of great utility, not only to the agriculture of Scotland, and to those industrious classes whose commerce and industry are exercised on its productions, but likewise to the agriculture and industry of all other countries.”

According to his original plan, Sir John Sinclair was about to grapple with the difficulties of a more comprehensive undertaking—that of preparing, from the forty octavo volumes of county surveys, a general report of England. When he communicated his intention to Sir Joseph Banks, the latter was astonished at the boldness of the enterprise, and expressed his wonder that an individual should have the hardihood to undertake even the perusal of a collection which was in itself a library. In a letter, dated the 13th December, he says, “I think I may fairly say, that

* Letter from Mr Dempster, dated Aug. 8, 1811.

no man ever yet has, or ever will be, endowed with patience enough to read through the whole, except only yourself. My dear Sir John," he proceeds, "however skilled you may be in concentration, *the very reading through the matter you intend to abridge, is the labour of some years.*" Whether this remonstrance was of itself effectual, or whether other causes contributed to withdraw Sir John's attention from the subject, does not appear ; but the "General Report of England" was never completed.

In addition to these County Reports, the Board published six quarto volumes of communications from intelligent agriculturists, both foreign and domestic ; some written in answer to queries sent by the President, and some containing suggestions which the writer considered useful. The names of the most distinguished characters, literary, scientific, and political, occur in the list of contributors—as Bishop Watson, Dr Priestley, Sir Joseph Banks, General Washington, Count Hertzberg, Count Bernstorff, Gisborne, Roscoe, Davy, Cline, &c.

As an example of the energy and success with which the Board collected the materials for these volumes, I may instance their Report upon the question submitted to them by the House of Lords, as to "the best means of converting certain portions of grass land into tillage, without exhausting the soil, and of returning the same to grass, after a certain period, in an improved state, or at least without in-

jury." To elicit information, the Board offered premiums to the amount of several hundred pounds, for the best essays upon the subject, specified the particulars most necessary to be enlarged upon, and circulated their proposals among farmers and graziers throughout the kingdom. The essays transmitted in return amounted to the surprising number of three hundred and fifty. Some of these were printed at full length, extracts were made from others, and a mass of information printed, such as never was before accumulated upon any subject within the range of agriculture. Not only do these papers give a full description of the grass land which may be broken up with impunity, but also of the land from which the plough should be absolutely prohibited. They specify the crops which should be sown, whether to alleviate the pressure of scarcity, or to provide for ordinary demands; and they prescribe for laying down to grass, rules adapted to all varieties of soil. To these rules Arthur Young refers, with honest pride, as a code of such authority, that it would be "a species of temerity" to controvert them.*

Nor did the Board confine their efforts to the *collection* and *diffusion* of agricultural knowledge; they endeavoured also to *arrange* it—to connect husbandry with philosophy, or, as the Founder of the institution frequently expressed himself, "to raise agriculture

* See Communications, vol. iii.

from the level of an art to the dignity of a science." They wished its process no longer to be carried on blindly or empirically, but to be formed into a regular system, and conducted upon rational and experimental principles. The two branches of science from which the greatest aid might be expected, were vegetable physiology and chemistry; the Board therefore endeavoured to prevail on men of eminence in these departments to employ their scientific attainments in arranging and combining, theoretically, the miscellaneous facts and loose notions of which agricultural knowledge at that time exclusively consisted. Among the most valuable results of these endeavours were Darwin's *Phytologia*, and Davy's *Lectures on Agricultural Chemistry*.

The *Phytologia*, or *Philosophy of Agriculture and Gardening*, was dedicated by the author, in the most cordial terms of friendship and esteem, to Sir John Sinclair, as a work "begun at his instigation, and forwarded by his encouragement." Dr Darwin entered warmly into Sir John's feeling of indignation, that husbandry had till then been so much neglected by the learned, and that at a time when many branches of knowledge, far inferior in importance, had been carefully arranged and digested into sciences, agriculture and gardening, though of such great utility in producing the nutriment of mankind, continued to be only arts.* The work comprises three parts, of

* Introduction to Darwin's *Phytologia*.

which the first explains the physiology of vegetation ; the second describes the economy of vegetation ; and the third applies the principles thus established to agricultural and horticultural productions. Among the casual discoveries which this ingenious work had the merit of bringing forward, was the use of bone dust as a manure. Having mentioned phosphorus as an element under different forms, existing universally in vegetables, and not before sufficiently attended to, the Doctor specifies the different substances from which this essential food of plants may be obtained, and which therefore might be advantageously employed as manure ; he then proceeds—" and, lastly, the use of recent shells, or bones ground into powder, or of bone ashes, may be deduced, as they consist almost entirely of phosphorus and calcareous earth." * The fertilizing properties of this manure had been previously noticed by Hunter, but they were first theoretically explained and brought forward with authority by Dr Darwin. Perhaps no modern discovery has contributed so powerfully to improve the fertility and to increase the produce of the soil, as the use of bone dust. Nothing but experience would render credible the strong and lasting effects produced by even small quantities of this active substance.

The Board was not less successful in the case of chemistry than of vegetable physiology. So early as

* *Phytologia*, sec. x. 5. 5. Hunter's *Georgical Essays*, vol. ii. p. 93, where Mr St Leger's experiments are described.

the third year of their establishment, they prevailed upon Dr Fordyce, a chemist of reputation, to make some interesting experiments upon a large scale, with the view of ascertaining the principles of vegetation, and the effects of different manures. They afterwards found another individual, peculiarly qualified, both by his philosophical acquirements, and by his taste for farming, to illustrate the connexion between chemistry and agriculture. Mr Davy, afterwards Sir Humphrey Davy, had studied husbandry in early life under his father, a well-informed Cornish agriculturist, and was at that time lecturing upon chemistry at the Royal Institution in London. The Board requested him to deliver, in their apartments, a course of lectures on agricultural chemistry, and though the poverty of their exchequer precluded them from offering him any adequate remuneration, yet his hereditary zeal for agriculture induced him to accept the appointment. He gave his first course of lectures in 1803, and repeated it annually till 1813.

This eminent philosopher thus describes the object of his course, showing that, like his scientific cotemporary Dr Darwin, he entered warmly into Sir John Sinclair's recommendations. "Agricultural chemistry," he says, "has for its objects all those changes in the arrangements of matter connected with the growth and nourishment of plants, the comparative values of their produce as food, the constitution of soils the manner in which lands are enriched by ma-

nure, or rendered fertile by the different processes of cultivation. Enquiries of such a nature cannot but be interesting and important both to the theoretical agriculturist and the practical farmer. To the first they are necessary in supplying most of the fundamental principles on which the theory of the art depends; to the second they are useful in affording simple and easy experiments for directing his labours, and for enabling him to pursue a certain and scientific plan of improvement."

He illustrates these remarks by some appropriate examples, clearly showing the advantages to be derived by agriculture from chemical research. "It is scarcely possible to enter upon any investigation of agriculture, without finding it connected, more or less, with doctrines or elucidations derived from chemistry.

"If land be unproductive, and a system of ameliorating it is to be attempted, the sure method of obtaining the object is by determining the cause of its sterility, which must necessarily depend upon some defect in the constitution of the soil, which may be easily discovered by chemical analysis.

"Some lands of good apparent texture are yet sterile in a high degree; and common observation and common practice afford no means of ascertaining the cause, or of removing the effect. The application of chemical tests in such cases is obvious; for the soil must contain some noxious principle which

may be easily discovered, and probably easily destroyed.

“ Are any of the salts of iron present? they may be decomposed by lime. Is there an excess of silicious sand? the system of improvement must depend on the application of clay and calcareous matter. Is there a defect of calcareous matter? The remedy is obvious; it may be removed by liming, paring, and burning. Is there a deficiency of vegetable matter? it is to be supplied by manure.”

The philosophical lecturer gives other interesting examples, but those already stated will explain sufficiently, even to general readers, the practical character of his lectures, and the invaluable uses of chemistry, as applied to farming. The whole course included eight lectures, in which the subjects treated of are the general powers of matter which influence vegetation, gravitation, cohesion, chemical attraction, light, heat, &c.; soils and their different parts; the atmosphere; manures, animal and vegetable, as well as mineral, together with the various means of improving land on chemical principles. Towards the conclusion, he expresses his hope that some of the views brought forward might contribute to the improvement of this most important and useful of the arts. “ I trust,” he adds, “ that the enquiry will be pursued by others, and that in proportion as chemical philosophy advances towards perfection, it will afford new aids to agriculture.”

Sir John warmly urged the publication of these valuable lectures, but the author's numerous avocations long prevented him from acceding to this request. In October 24, 1809, he writes, "I shall do what I can to make my lectures worthy of publication next season." It was not till four years afterwards, when the lectures had been delivered for the tenth time, that they were at last submitted to the public. Their reception must have been highly gratifying to the writer; they were warmly eulogized by the cotemporary critics; several editions have been called for, and translations made into almost all the languages of Europe.

Besides these scientific works, many valuable writings on the practice and details of farming were undertaken at the suggestion of the Board, and published under the auspices of the President. My father's library includes a large collection of volumes, containing acknowledgments of the patronage and encouragement which he had given to the respective authors. I may mention, as examples, Tatham's National Irrigation, Anderson's Practical Treatise on Peat Moss, Williams on Climate,* Le Conteur on the Orchards of Jersey, Gray's Plough-wright's Assistant, Neill's Horticultural Tour in Flanders, and Brown of Markle's Treatise on Rural Affairs. In

* I have read, with inconceivable delight, Mr Williams' book on our Climate, and envy you for being its patron."—*Letter from George Dempster, Esq. M.P. Dunnichen, Forfar, 30th June, 1808.*

dedicating the last mentioned work to Sir John Sinclair, Mr Brown remarks, that his treatise "could not with propriety be committed to the protection of any other person than of him who first turned the author's attention to the subjects which it embraces." It is indeed impossible for me to enumerate half the instances in which my father benefited the public (sometimes at a considerable expense to himself), by persuading or enabling intelligent individuals to publish valuable information.*

Another mode in which the Board of Agriculture elicited and diffused information was, by discussions among its members at their regular meetings for business. Men of intelligence and activity, such as Sir Joseph Banks, the Duke of Bedford, Mr Coke of

* Among other works which my father caused to be written, may be mentioned Dr Kelly's very able and useful performance, "*The Cambist*," which, soon after its publication, in consequence of affording great facilities to calculation, was introduced into the offices of the Bank, the India House, and other companies, as well as at the Board of Trade. In a letter, dated June 13, 1811, Dr Kelly writes, "I wish to ask your advice respecting the *Cambist*, as I hope you will always feel something like a parental interest in its success, for it certainly owes its origin to your able suggestion." And again, Feb. 1822, he repeats the same acknowledgment: "I now beg to turn to another subject, in which you have been essentially concerned. By the enclosed prospectus you will see the success of my *Cambist*, which indeed may be also called *your Cambist*, as it owes its origin to your letters to the Bank directors, written in 1797." I may add, that a History of Scotland was dedicated to Sir John, in 1794, by Mr Robert Heron, "in acknowledgment for important information derived from his statistical researches."

Norfolk, Bishop Watson, Lord Sheffield, Mr Curwen, and others, could hardly assemble on any occasion without bringing forward valuable hints and observations on their favourite study, collected from the agricultural experience of widely-distant counties. As the Secretary remarked, in a lecture to the Board, "It was not likely that the talents which blazed at Woburn should become extinguished in Sackville Street; that the genius which illuminated Petworth should become a common mortal by association in this room, or that a Coke should lose all knowledge of turnips, and a Somerville all his skill in cattle, by entering these doors." To the honour of the Board, it should be added, that in the intercourse of the members uninterrupted harmony and cordiality prevailed. Among them were included leading characters of all political parties; yet, as if by common consent, every reference to politics was carefully excluded. No discussion, however interesting or protracted, gave rise, in any instance, to bitterness of language. "I am not aware," says Lord Carrington, "that even a single expression has ever fallen from the lips of any member that could wound the feelings of another." *

Besides communicating knowledge by its printed works, the Board assisted individuals with advice. Queries from every part of the kingdom were received, and punctually replied to. "In this institution," to

* Address to the Board in 1803.

use the words of Brewster's Encyclopedia, "a common fortress, erected for the benefit of all agriculturists, and to which each might resort for advice and protection, was immediately recognised." The officers of the Board afforded at all times, to all persons, every instruction in their power. They instituted whatever enquiries might be necessary for that purpose, and introduced persons to each other who might be mutually useful. Arthur Young computed that he had done so in some thousands of cases. The President observed invariably a rule to receive with civility all visitors, whether they came to ask or to give intelligence. He knew how frequently the conductors of a public department consider themselves insulted by individuals presuming to advise them, as if advice implied aspersion on their sagacity or knowledge. For his own part, he made no pretension to this official plenitude of wisdom. Even when the propositions made to him were manifestly absurd, he listened to his adviser with attention, and dismissed him with urbanity. A gentleman, who proposed to drain the kingdom with the broken china of the East India House, was so pleased with his polite reception, as to offer, in return, his vote at the next election, either for Kent or Middlesex.

Others were less disinterested than this grateful projector. They came with secrets to the President, which they required him to purchase, without previously informing himself of their value, and were

indignant at the over-cautious rule of the Board, never to purchase a discovery without proof of its utility.

Another duty which the Board imposed upon themselves, was that of discovering and rewarding merit. Not only did they encourage every valuable suggestion, but offered premiums from time to time for works of useful invention ; and brought forward into public notice meritorious individuals, whose discoveries might otherwise have died with them. One or two examples will suffice to show the generous activity of the Board in this department. Having heard, from various quarters, of Elkington's extraordinary success in draining land on principles known only to himself, they entered into correspondence with him, and were so impressed by the importance of his plan, that they interested themselves in procuring for him a grant from Parliament of L.1000, which, in his pecuniary distress, caused by neglect of his own private affairs for the public benefit, proved a most seasonable relief.

Elkington, notwithstanding his natural sagacity, was a man of uncultivated mind, and so confused in explaining his ideas, that he was utterly unable, however willing, to develope those very processes which he was conducting with so much industry and success. The Board therefore employed Mr Johnstone of Edinburgh, a skilful surveyor and drainer of land, to make a journey along with Elkington, for the pur-

pose of examining, on the spot, the chief drainages which had been effected on his system, and of eliciting, by judicious queries, the principles by which he regulated his operations. So successful was this measure, that Johnstone became master of the art, and, in a treatise published by the Board, explained and illustrated the new system. Thus Elkington's discoveries, instead of being lost, are now in practice throughout the kingdom.* Johnstone's treatise is

* From a multitude of letters which passed between my father and Mr Elkington, I select one specimen, illustrative of his homely style and grateful disposition.

“ Meadley, January the 21st, 1799.

“ Sir John,

“ I yesterday received a letter from your honour, dated at Edinburgh, January the 2d, 99, requesting me to inform you or give you authority to pay Messrs Little and Woodeock their claim against me, which I most humbly request you to do, and settle it with them the first opportunity ; hoping you will excuse me in my situation for the trouble I give you, and I most gratefully acknowledge you to be my most sincere friend. I was not able to go up to London when your honour requested me in your former letter, nor even to write to you, but I desired my son to write and inform you ; for I have not wrote so much as in this letter before October last, since I was taken ill ; but thank God, I am getting better apace, and am in hopes I shall be able to finish his Grace the Duke of Bedford's draining, and all my friends about London the next summer, and bring my son with me. I remain, with the uttmost gratitude, your honour's most faithfull and obedient servant,

“ JOSEPH ELKINGTON.

“ P.S. Please to take care of, or destroy any note when you settle with Mr Little and Co.”

In a letter from Sir Joseph Banks to my father, the following

considered by competent judges to be of standard authority, and has gone through three editions; the last of which, published in 1835, is so much improved by valuable additions and corrections, as to be almost a new work.

Another meritorious individual, whom the Board had the satisfaction of introducing to public attention, was the celebrated Mr Loudon Macadam, beyond question the most eminent of road surveyors. In 1810, Sir John Sinclair, as President of the Board, received from Mr Macadam a communication, stating that, in his opinion, the system of road-making throughout the kingdom was imperfect and expensive. This gentleman had been long endeavouring to get his plans fairly tried, and brought under public notice; but had been much discouraged by his ill success. Sir John, being pleased with the suggestions in his letter, resolved to bring them under the notice of a Parliamentary Committee on highways, which, by a coincidence fortunate for Mr Macadam, was then sitting; and of which the President of the Board of Agriculture was Chairman.† To give the

passage occurs in connexion with the present subject. "The L.200 which you sent to Elkington on Monday se'ennight, I considered as a sacrifice to the credit and reputation of the Board, which did you infinite honour."

* See Quarterly Journal of Agriculture for September, 1836. Among Johnstone's earliest patrons was Henry Duke of Buccleuch, who, in 1797, wrote to Sir John, "I am more and more satisfied with Johnstone's skill."

† In 1811, Mr Macadam writes, "This subject" (that of road-

new method a better chance of success, my father caused the information sent by Mr Macadam to be arranged and condensed; and had it printed in the Appendix to the Report of the Committee. This Parliamentary approbation of Macadam's system encouraged him to persevere in his exertions, and led to his ultimate success. In 1815, the roads in the vicinity of Bristol were placed under his charge, and afterwards those of Bath. This example was followed in other districts. Macadam's method was by degrees extended over the whole island, and subsequently adopted in foreign countries.* This ingenious projector, long after he had risen to eminence, acknowledged, with honourable candour, his obligations to Sir John Sinclair as his original patron.

The following curious memorandum upon the subject, is extracted from my father's private papers:—

“ Going one day into the Albyn Club at Edinburgh, I observed an old gentleman sitting alone, with a newspaper in his hand. As soon as he observed me, he came forward and expressed, in strong terms, his satisfaction at having met with an individual to whom he was so much indebted. To my enquiry, whom I had the pleasure of conversing with,

making) “ falls particularly under the care of the Board of Agriculture; at least it is only from that useful body that there can be any hope of the subject's being powerfully brought under the notice of Government and the Legislature.”

* A full account of his system is contained in a Practical Essay, addressed by him to the Board in 1819.

he answered that his name was Macadam. I told him that I well remembered corresponding with him when I was chairman of a committee on highways; and that he had transmitted to me valuable information, which I had much pleasure in recommending to public notice in the report. I added, at the same time, how much it gratified me to hear from all quarters of the magnificent improvements he was carrying forward in the roads all over the kingdom; not only on the great lines of communication, but also upon byways and lesser intersections. Upon this Mr Macadam said emphatically, ‘It is owing to you, Sir John, that these improvements were ever made. The fact is, that, at the time you applied to me for the information you refer to, I had resolved to give up all concern with these matters; but the countenance and encouragement I received from you revived my energy, and I determined, in spite of all opposition, to persevere. I have since thriven beyond my utmost hopes; but it was altogether owing to the encouragement you gave me at a critical moment that my schemes were not abandoned.’ I again expressed my satisfaction at having contributed to promote plans of such utility, adding, ‘You can do me, Mr Macadam, a very singular favour, and one likely to be productive of much public advantage. I occasionally attend public meetings, where useful projects are brought forward. It is a rule with me to recommend that they should be allowed a fair trial; others

act upon a different principle; they take pleasure in objecting to new plans, and endeavour to run them down. Now, if you will repeat to me in writing what you have stated in conversation, it will arm me with a very strong reply to these objectors, and may prevent many useful projects from being stifled in the birth.' Mr Macadam approved much of the suggestion, and sent me next morning a letter to the effect required."

The most useful implement introduced into the practice of husbandry during the last century, was the "Thrashing-machine." For this invention husbandry is indebted to Mr Andrew Meikle, an ingenious millwright of Tynningham, in East Lothian. The advantages of this machine consist in saving an immense amount of manual labour, in separating the grain from the straw more perfectly and expeditiously than any previous method; and in saving the produce of the grain to the extent of one-twentieth. It has been calculated, that, if this contrivance were universally adopted, a profit would accrue to the country of L.1,800,000 per annum. Having learned that the meritorious inventor of this machine was labouring under pecuniary difficulties, my father promptly interposed for his relief. In the case of Elkington he had applied to Parliament; but, in the present instance, he had recourse to private subscription, and, in his quality of President, addressed a letter to the Earl of Haddington, Lord Lieutenant of East Lo-

thian, recommending to the attention of the landed and farming interests in that county, the case of this deserving mechanist, who, in addition to his other claims, was an inhabitant of the shire. A meeting was called on the 26th December, 1809, when resolutions were adopted, approving of Sir John's suggestion, and appointing a committee to carry it into effect. The sum of L.1500 was by this means raised, and the family of Meikle rescued from the abject poverty into which they were fast descending.*

The President made a similar exertion to raise from indigence the family of James Small, who had done good service to Scottish agriculture by his improvements in the construction of the plough. Such well-directed exertions of public spirit gave an assurance to ingenious men that their inventions, however slow of rising into notice, would not be ultimately left unrecompensed; and that, although they should receive no benefit while living, they had the prospect of being rewarded in the persons of their descendants.

But among the most imperative duties of the Board, was that of using the information they acquired, as the basis of suggestions both to the public

* "Should your late tour to East Lothian," says George Dempster, "procure a suitable reward to the inventor of the thrashing-mill, it will redound much to your and the nation's honour. Our heathen ancestors would have assigned a place in heaven to Mr Meikle."—*Letter, dated Dunnichen, 3d December, 1809.*

and the Legislature. On occasions of scarcity, they often interposed beneficially to prevent or to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. Hardly had the institution been established, when a deficiency in the wheat crop raised to an alarming height the price of bread throughout the kingdom. As the most immediate measure of relief, the Board caused experiments to be tried in the manufacture of bread, from every species of grain that could be made to enter into its composition. No less than eighty different kinds of bread were soon exhibited, to the astonishment of the public, as the result of these enquiries. Without enumerating the multifarious materials suggested under every possible combination, I may quote the remark of an unquestionable authority on this subject, that “The Board, for having turned its attention to the great question of substitutes for wheat in the manufacture of bread, deserved the gratitude of posterity.” *

Another suggestion of the Board was still more beneficial. Anticipating the scarcity in 1794, they recommended an increased attention to the cultivation of potatoes. Fifty thousand additional acres were in consequence planted, and produced a supply of food sufficient for the support, during six months, of nearly a million of the population.† A report was

* Eldin on Bread.

† See the President's address to the Board, in 1795, Appendix L., p. 62. Sir William Pulteney wrote to Sir John from

also drawn up and printed, containing all the information that could be collected, either at home or abroad, with reference to that valuable root. The most important desideratum was a cheap and easy method of preserving potatoes, so that the abundance of one crop might make amends for the deficiency of another. An experiment was tried of cutting them into thin slices, and drying them upon a hop-oast or kiln. The expense was trifling, and it was ascertained that they might then be kept for a long period. Sir John used to show his friends specimens of potato-flour, and potato slices, which, at the suggestion of the Board, had been sent to New South Wales, and, forty years afterwards, were as fit for use as on the day they were prepared.

As the wheat crop in 1795 was below the average, and the scarcity appeared likely to continue, the Board urged the farming interest to immediate and extraordinary exertions for providing a supply. The President wrote a letter upon the subject, which was circulated among the members, transmitted to the quarter-sessions of the different counties, and printed in above fifty newspapers. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the result. Intelligence arrived from all quarters, that a greater quantity of wheat had

Wolverhampton, that the people of that large town had been without bread for four days, but had not suffered, owing to "the astonishing quantity of potatoes planted in that neighbourhood in consequence of the recommendation of the Board."

been sown than at any period within the memory of man.*

To take one more example : when the country, in 1800, was again threatened with the horrors of famine, the humane activity of the Board may be advantageously contrasted with the supineness of the Government. Information had reached the Secretary in the autumn of 1799, that the wheat crop was deficient, and that the stock on hand was nearly exhausted. As the members of the Board had not then arrived in town, Mr Young, in November, wrote to Mr Pitt, advising that, without delay, measures should be taken to procure a large supply of rice from the East Indies. No notice, however, was taken of this timely warning. In March following the Board met, and the President (then Lord Carrington) sent a second letter to the Minister, urging still more strongly the same recommendation ; but unhappily almost with the same ill success. An agreement, indeed, was made between the Government and the East India Company, that the importation of rice should be permitted duty free ; but orders were at the same time transmitted to the servants of the Company, that none should be shipped on the Company's account ; and no hopes were held out that the Parliamentary bounty, which guaranteed a selling price of thirty-five shillings, would be continued. This bounty

* Address to the Board in 1796.

would expire on the 2d of October, before the rice could arrive. The Board, however, did not desist from their patriotic exertions. They transmitted letters of enquiry to all parts of the kingdom; and having received answers which confirmed their worst fears, they once more represented to Ministers the critical situation of the country. After all, no change was made in the instructions sent to India; nor was any other remedy provided for the impending evil. At length the pressure of the scarcity became severe. The public was roused from its apathy. The King summoned Parliament with all haste to consider the most effectual means of relief. The recommendation of the Board, after a delay of nearly twelve months, was tardily adopted. The bill granting a bounty upon rice was renewed, and great encouragement held out for sending ships to India. Mean while the sufferings and privations of the people increased; wheat from the continent was imported at an enormous price; and it was only when the abundant harvest in 1801 rendered such aid unnecessary, that 19,000 tons of rice arrived from India.* As Arthur Young observes, “Had the plan proposed by the Board been immediately adopted, L.2,500,000 might have been saved to the country.”

One of the greatest obstacles to an increased cultivation of the kingdom has always been the necessity

* See Lord Carrington's address to the Board in 1801.

of procuring a separate act of Parliament for the enclosure of each common :—a process tedious, expensive, and precarious. The Board, availing themselves of the general apprehensions caused by the scarcity in 1795, resolved upon improving the opportunity, by endeavouring to procure a general enclosure act ; and, as a preparatory measure, made enquiries to ascertain the amount of uncultivated land throughout the country. To the disgrace of a nation occupying a fertile region, jealous of its superiority over its neighbours, and abounding in capital as well as in enterprise, the amount of land abandoned by immemorial prescription to uselessness and desolation was twenty-two millions of acres.

On receiving these returns, Sir John Sinclair waited on Mr Pitt, and requested his assistance in carrying through some plan to remove this well-founded reproach.* Mr Pitt replied, that nothing would give him greater satisfaction, although he feared the difficulties of such a measure would be insuperable. “ But,” continued the Minister, “ if you can prevail upon Mr Fox to lend his aid, I shall have no objection, loaded as I am with public business, to attend the committee, and see what can be done by our united exertions.” An interview immediately followed be-

* “ Let us cut off those legal bars,
Which crush the culture of our fertile isle ;
Were they removed, unbounded wealth would flow,
Our wastes would then with varied produce smile,
And England soon a second Eden prove.”

tween the President and Mr Fox. After conferring nearly an hour, Mr Fox consented to become a member of a select committee, and to sound in the mean time such of his friends as were fittest and most likely to take a share in the business. He approved of the proposed regulations, but would not pledge himself to a particular opinion, till the subject had been fully discussed. Sir John was much gratified with the hope of bringing these two great political opponents together in the same committee, of which he himself was to be chairman, and by which so great a benefit to agriculture was likely to be secured.

In my father's anxiety for the success of his plan, he feared that Mr Fox's friends might dissuade him from fulfilling his engagement, and accordingly sent the following letter:—

“ Sir,

“ I hope this day to have the Committee on the waste lands appointed.

“ I am aware, from our late conversation on the subject, that you are not in any degree pledged to support the measures which the Committee may recommend, more especially if they should prove unpopular. It is extremely desirable that no doubt should be expressed at the outset of the business from so respectable a quarter, as to the expediency of some general measure, since otherwise attorneys and other parties interested in opposing the bill, may be encouraged

to raise a clamour against it, which, without the prospect of being supported in Parliament, they would not think of. The undertaking is bold and difficult, but, I am convinced, is not beyond the capacity of the Committee to be appointed. With great respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

“ Whitehall, 11th Dec., 1795.”

How far either of these political leaders was sincere in his professions cannot be determined, as Mr Fox, by not attending the Committee, released the other from his pledge. It may, however, be observed, that since great hostility to the measure was felt in various quarters, and since much odium might be expected against its supporters, Mr Pitt was justified in stipulating that the responsibility should be shared by his rival.

Thus deprived of the assistance he had confidently anticipated from the two great party leaders, the President had recourse to various friends, clergymen as well as lawyers, with whose aid a bill was drawn up and corrected, embracing provisions just and equitable towards all parties. A long letter is before me upon the subject from Bishop Watson, commenting on certain hints and suggestions furnished by Judge Buller in reference to the measure. The Bishop wished for a general commutation of tithes, as well as a general enclosure bill, but he was anxious, that, while the latter measure was in progress, the former

should be postponed. He remarked that both objects might be lost, if too much were aimed at ; and that the Legislature was not yet prepared for so great a change in the tithe system as a permanent or compulsory commutation.

The bill thus concocted was so unexceptionable, that it passed triumphantly through the Commons. Some opposition in the House of Lords was anticipated from Lord Chancellor Rosslyn. Sir John, therefore, urged his Lordship to permit the second reading, and then suggest in the Committee such amendments as he thought necessary. “ At any time,” says he, writing to the Chancellor, “ the rejection of a bill, purporting to be an act for promoting the cultivation and improvement of the waste lands of the kingdom, would not be well received by the public ; but disappointment in the present state and temper of the times would necessarily occasion infinite disgust. I have already received letters from respectable quarters, in the apprehension of such a circumstance, stating the astonishment of the writers, that when taxes were rapidly accumulating every day, measures calculated for the improvement of the country were either neglected or thrown aside.” This appeal was ineffectual. The bill, on the second reading, was thrown out, chiefly through the influence of the very man whom the President had been endeavouring to propitiate. On this occasion my father received the following letter from Sir John Call, the

Treasurer of the Board, expressive of the surprise and indignation excited generally among the landed interest.

“ Whiteford House, July 19.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I learnt from my newspaper with great astonishment, and with equal concern, that your enclosure bill was put by in the House of Lords on the motion of the Lord Chancellor, without one single argument against it, at least according to the report in my paper. I know not to what motive I can impute this, but I fear the fees of office in that House, and perhaps in ours too, have an influence they ought not to have, against a great public measure.

Whatever may be the cause, I hope the Board of Agriculture, in another session, will resume the business with zeal and perseverance ; and that, supported by societies in every county, and by the numerous parties who have already petitioned in favour of the bill, they will form such a combination of interests, as the legislature must attend to. I will not say all that I could on this subject, because I am somewhat out of temper ; but I cannot help thinking it to be an act of great injustice to individuals, as well as a counteraction of an obvious improvement in agriculture and all its relative advantages, to prevent the owners and occupiers of waste and common land from enclosing such lands by common consent, and in

order to amend the soil and increase the produce. I am, my dear sir, with great esteem, your faithful and obliged servant,

“ J. CALL.”

Other letters to the same effect poured in upon the President from all quarters. I am amused with the following, from an intelligent agriculturist in the north of England. “ The failure of your most excellent intended general enclosure bill,” says Mr Bird of Appleby (22d May, 1798), “ is still greatly to be regretted, as it most probably would, if passed into a law, have been the most beneficial to this country of any act since Magna Charta. And it is astonishing to me what could induce the Lord Chancellor to dismiss the bill, as his profession must exclude him from having a competent knowledge of agricultural affairs.”

The Board was not disheartened by this defeat, but continued their exertions in the great cause of extended cultivation. Next year Sir John Sinclair wrote a second time to the Chancellor, informing him that Lord Thurlow and Lord Kenyon had promised their assistance in framing a new bill, but his Lordship was again impracticable. During the severe scarcity in 1800, the Board redoubled their efforts, and produced a bill satisfactory to the landed interest, and not injurious to the church ; but the law authorities in the Upper House contrived to alter so completely

one of its leading provisions, that the agriculturists themselves withdrew it. Having sustained a defeat under circumstances so favourable, the mover (Lord Carrington) gave up the cause as hopeless. "If," said he, "after the fatal experience of more than twenty millions sterling having been sent to foreign countries for the purchase of grain within the short space of a few years, noble lords will still condemn millions of acres, which are capable of every kind of produce, to remain dreary wastes, I can impute it to little less than a species of infatuation. The case seems to me desperate; and I may almost say to them, in the forcible language of Scripture, 'Neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead.' " *

Notwithstanding the despondency here expressed, Sir John Sinclair, during the administration of Lord Sidmouth, had the satisfaction of carrying through an act which facilitated the object of the Board, by diminishing the expense of private bills. In a Committee of the whole House, one of the most interesting occasions to my father on which he had ever spoken, he urged very ably and eloquently, the paramount importance of agricultural improvement. He enumerated the obstacles presented by the existing system to the enclosure of waste land. He enlarged on the baneful effects of scarcities, which so often and

* Address to the Board in 1803.

so recently had afflicted the kingdom ; he dilated on the necessity of providing for an augmented population, and of making the country independent of foreign nations for food ; concluding with this animated appeal—" We have begun another campaign against the foreign enemies of the country, and I rejoice to find, with every rational prospect of success. Why should we not attempt a campaign also against our great domestic foe, I mean the hitherto unconquered sterility of so large a proportion of the surface of the kingdom ? Let us try the effects of internal, as well as of foreign conquests. Let us not be satisfied with the liberation of Egypt, or the subjugation of Malta, but let us subdue Finchley Common ; let us conquer Hounslow Heath ; let us compel Epping Forest to submit to the yoke of improvement. These are conquests which will add to the strength and vital energy of the nation, and by them we shall be enabled to preserve those distant acquisitions, more splendid, it is true, though infinitely less substantial, than internal improvements ; but which, as a proof of valour, of enterprise, and of exertion, a great and spirited nation is naturally anxious to obtain." * In reference to the expected accession of Irish members, in consequence

* One day, after passing over Hounslow Heath, Sir John urged his friend, the Duke of Northumberland, to take measures for the enclosure and improvement of that extensive tract, which, to the disgrace of the country, had been suffered to remain in a state of nature. It is now covered with villas, or converted into gardens.

of the Union, he urged the House to speedy and energetic measures. "Let us resolve," he said, "to lay the foundation of a general system of improvement before the representatives of another nation can participate in the glory."

Notwithstanding the resolutions adopted by the House, the expense of private acts continued a serious obstacle to the extended cultivation of the country.* My father's last attempt to accomplish his favourite object, was in 1812, when, as President of the Board, he drew up the sketch of a bill on the subject of enclosures, to be submitted to the House of Commons. In this sketch he proposed, that where the parties interested were unanimous, and where their rights were undoubted, they should be enabled to divide the land by an immediate agreement, or to appoint commissioners for that purpose. Where doubts existed as to the right of parties, it was intended that a

* The following extract of a letter from William Payne, Esq. of Fritchley, near Doncaster, illustrates the importance of a new system, notwithstanding the above amelioration of the old:—"Without some general regulation we cannot go on, from the many impediments, owing to contested claims, &c. Indeed, when we do succeed in this *uphill* business, the expenses are so great, that we buy our land over again at more than its value. In one enclosure, on which I am materially concerned with a respectable neighbour of mine, Mr Bosville, the commissioners may probably be obliged to *sell the whole for expenses*. I am still in hopes that something may be effected to relieve this most crying grievance, by which the population of the county is unemployed and ill fed; than which a greater evil cannot exist in any state or nation."—31st May, 1812.

commission should be issued by the Chancellor to determine that question. Where the parties were not unanimous, it was proposed that the proprietors of two-thirds in value should be enabled to insist on an enclosure, by an application to the Judge of Assize, who, with the concurrence of the Grand Jury, should nominate commissioners from three lists to be delivered, one by the lord of the manor, one by the tithe-owner, and one by such a number of proprietors as possessed the major part in value of the land.

The following letters from Lord Chancellor Eldon show that, however favourably disposed towards the general principle of the measure, he was prepared to raise objections, almost insurmountable, against any specific plan.

“ Dear Sir John,

“ Having kept my bed from indisposition, I have not been able to write. Indeed I am very far from being able so to do.

“ If there is to be a general Enclosure-Bill, the great advocates first should compose the bill, and let the Government see how it is intended to be framed. The objections must arise from its details, and not from its general object. That object seems good; the details will be difficult. But they must be seen to be judged of; and unless some very able agriculturist, aided by some very able lawyer, particularly well versed in the rights, infinitely various, which men

have in real property in this country, will lay their heads together and produce something, to be diligently read, and diligently considered by agriculturists who are not lawyers, and by us lawyers who are no agriculturists, I think progress will not be rapid. If the Minister thinks it right to make it a government measure, and if you put a bill into his hands, I take for granted it would be submitted to the consideration of legal advisers. But I think some two such persons, as I have alluded to, must together compose the bill. I meant to write you a long letter upon this important object, but I am too ill to proceed, having been lifted out of bed, and I feel quite fatigued, having the gout in severity. Yours very truly,

“ ELDON.”

“ Dear Sir John,

“ I was honoured with your letter a day or two before I left town at the close of ten months, during all which I have devoted day and night to the duties of my office and station. I am very well aware, Sir John, of the magnitude and importance of the measure you mention; but whatever aid I may be able to give to any bill for carrying such a measure into effect, which shall have been prepared and settled before it comes into Parliament by some very able lawyer, skilful enough, as such, to clothe in legal language the plans, which such persons as yourself and others,

conversant in the nature of the measure itself, may suggest, as far as he can execute them consistently with a due regard to the rights of property, it is utterly impossible for me to devote any part of my time to the subject, previous to its appearing in Parliament in the shape of a bill. The very few weeks of vacation which I have I must sacrifice to purposes connected with my health, and to them only ; and, as to my being able in November to take upon myself the duty you propose to me, with an absolute inability to execute three-fourths of the duties of my judicial office, I cannot abstract from those duties one moment of my time. If I am, therefore, to be of any use, it can only be by considering the bill, when it shall have been drawn and matured into something that looks like a complete measure by some eminent lawyer conversant in drawing acts of Parliament, and who, when so employed, is not devoting his leisure hours to the subject, but is, in truth, employed in the regular course of his professional business. I am, dear sir, with sincere regard, yours truly,

“ ELDON.

“ Encombe, Corfe Castle, Sept. 4, 1812.”

“ Dear Sir John,

“ I have just received your bill, to which I shall pay the utmost attention.

“ One of the things which has caught my eye, and which is utterly *inadmissible*, is the trial, *in the Court*

of Chancery, of exceptions to the Commissioners' report of the fact whether a sufficient number of persons interested agree to the enclosure. I give you my honour this is not the objection *of the Chancellor*, but of an individual who daily sees, with much concern, the utter impossibility of the suitors of that court having their business, *as suitors*, attended to at all, in consequence of the Courts being required to execute Enclosure bills, Navigation acts, &c. This clause I must oppose as long as I live. You must form *some other tribunal* to hear these exceptions. You are probably not aware that I gave notice, that I should *next* session, for the sake of the suitors of the Court of Chancery, move some bill to take out of this court all the duties of this kind, which have been already imposed upon it. This is, at the expense of the suitors, to the enactment, in fact, of its being utterly impossible that *their* business, though the court exists for the purpose of doing *their business*, should ever be completed, if begun upon—converting this court into a shop to transact the business of all Enclosure, Navigation, Turnpike bills, &c. &c.

“An exception to a commissioner's report may involve the necessity of the Court's trying the title to every estate in a parish. And yet this is to be set down for *the next day of petitions*. Twenty days of petitions might not be sufficient to decide it. And this is to go on to the interruption of the business of the suitors, for whose business the Court exists. I

had, for instance, the last day of petitions, in causes of lunacy and bankruptcy, more than five hundred petitions.

“ How is it possible to consent to an enactment which, if it had existed previous to the vacation, I will venture my life, would have brought the Court to the conclusion of its sittings before any, or at least most of these very important matters could have been heard at all ?

“ You must form some distinct Court for this duty. I have lost no time in apprising you of this, because it seems convenient that it should be early communicated. When the Court is utterly, absolutely, unequal to its present functions, are its duties to be increased by the addition of what in no sense naturally belongs to it as a Court ?

“ Yours very truly,

“ ELDON.

“ P.S.—I presume your reason for setting down the exceptions *on the next day* of petitions is speedy hearing ; but if the act don't require it to be heard before those which stand before it, there may be no such hearing ; if the act does that, it does gross injustice to the suitors. But I object to any new duties being imposed upon a Court which cannot execute its present duties. Excuse haste.”

Among the greatest disappointments experienced

by my father throughout his long and active life, was the ill success of all his plans for a general enclosure bill, and especially the rejection of the original bill, to which, as I have mentioned, the consent of the House of Commons had been obtained. Reverting to the subject many years afterwards, he frequently described the alternations of hope and fear which he had continually undergone during the tedious discussions of sixteen years. “When I first conceived the idea,” he used to say, “I could hardly venture to hope that an individual, unconnected with party, would be enabled to confer so great a benefit upon his country. When I carried my committee, and still more, when I had gained a triumph in the Commons, I conceived that the great object of my life was secured, and that I had done to agriculture the greatest service that one man could do. Judge, then, of my vexation and disappointment when, without one argument against it, this great measure was superciliously put aside.”

Although the Board was never able to carry through a general enclosure act, yet they caused a great increase in the number of private enclosure bills, both by facilitating their enactment and by awakening a spirit of improvement throughout the kingdom. During twenty years previous to the establishment of the Board, the number of enclosure bills was only 749 ; during twenty years after its establishment, the number amounted to 1883, giving an increase of 1134

bills, and, according to the best estimates, producing 2,268,000 acres of additional cultivation.

Another important subject to which the Board directed its attention, was that of bringing all the weights and measures throughout the kingdom under the summary jurisdiction of the magistrates. The poor, especially in rural districts, had formerly been subjected to the grossest frauds by petty dealers. At the request of the Board, Mr Powys introduced a bill to remedy the evil. Thousands of those humble sufferers from imposition had reason to thank the Board of Agriculture for suggesting this statute.*

Various measures also were carried by the influence of this public-spirited body for removing taxes, which, though of little benefit to the Exchequer, were injurious to agriculture, by raising the price of articles important to the cultivation of the soil, or to the improvement of stock. The tax on draining tiles, amounting almost to a prohibition, was removed; and lintseed and rape cake, imported in British vessels, were exempted from the payment of duty. "This exemption," says Arthur Young, "had its origin with the Board; and it now appears almost incredible, that, in a country such as this, suffering under a scarcity of provisions, so preposterous a duty should have been suffered to remain on the statute-books—a duty calculated to prevent the importation of that

* Address to the Board in 1795. Appendix L. p. 61.

food which fattens the oxen, and manures the fields of the kingdom.” *

Nor did this Agricultural Corporation, amidst objects of a loftier and more imposing character, overlook the domestic comfort of the poor. The President, having ascertained, in conversation with the Earl of Winchelsea, that much benefit had arisen to labourers from annexing to their cottages small portions of land on his lordship's estates in Rutlandshire, prevailed upon the noble Earl, in 1796, to write a paper on the subject as a communication to the Board. A well-informed agent was afterwards employed to visit certain parts of England, where a similar practice had been introduced, and the result of his mission was so favourable, that the Board recommended the system generally, and it was accordingly adopted in various counties. They devised at the same time measures for improving the construction of cottages, so as to diminish the consumption of fuel, and for encouraging friendly societies, “ those most fortunate of all institutions,” as the President emphatically terms them, “ for the benefit of the poor, and the most likely means that could possibly be devised for rendering their situation comfortable.” †

On the important subject of the poor, Sir John consulted that eminent economist, Jeremy Bentham, and received from him the following characteristic answer :—

* Lecture to the Board. † Address to the Board in 1795.

“ Q. S. P., 13th July, 1797.

“ Dear Sir,

“ Your commands in relation to the *poor* will be fulfilled ;—to speak the truth, they have been anticipated. I have been thinking of nothing else but poverty for these seven or eight months—*paupertatis nihil a me alienum puto*. That, which for inducement was not necessary, may in the way of encouragement be useful ; and, in the way of encouragement, what can be more stimulative than flattery from Sir John Sinclair ?

“ My labours, taking them all together, will, I doubt, be too voluminous to look for the honour of a complete admission into the *fasti* of the Board. But extracts can be made, adapted to the questions by which your commands to me on that subject are conveyed. Believe me ever, with all respect,

“ Dear sir,

“ Your most obedient and most humble servant,

“ JEREMY BENTHAM.”

I shall not expatiate on the various plans suggested and matured by this patriotic association, for improving turnpikes, for regulating stage-coaches and wheel-carriages, and for diffusing generally throughout the kingdom valuable processes of husbandry peculiar to certain districts. The general reader cannot be expected to take an interest in details which, how-

ever important in themselves, are too technical to be understood, without tedious explanation.

To these direct and palpable advantages of the Board, must be added those good effects which it indirectly and silently produced, by stirring up throughout the country a zeal for agricultural improvement; a zeal not extinguished even with the institution which first kindled it. No doubt some eminent individuals had previously directed their attention to husbandry, and some farming societies were exerting a beneficial influence in their respective districts. But those individuals exerted themselves with far greater energy, and those societies increased tenfold in number, after the Board, by its example, had pointed out the great results to be effected by public spirit, energy, and perseverance. Agriculture, in the eyes of all classes, rose to a dignity and importance which it would not otherwise have reached, and persons of the highest rank, of the largest property, and of the greatest intellectual endowments, were proud to take the lead among practical agriculturists.*

* The following passage, with reference to the general usefulness of the Board, occurs in Bisset's History of the Reign of George III., vol. v. p. 367 :—"Agriculture has never occupied a share of legislative attention proportioned to its momentous value as a branch of political economy, since Britain became so eminent for manufactures and commerce. This is an omission, the consequences of which have been often fatally experienced, from recurring scarcities in a country, by the fertility of its soil, and the talents of its people, so adapted for securing plenty. An evil so frequent was naturally the subject of reiterated complaint ;

In what degree this generous ardour in the cause of husbandry and internal improvement was fostered and matured by the exertions and example of the Founder of the Board of Agriculture, may be seen by

but no effectual measures were employed to prevent it from often occurring again. Among the many ardent enquirers into political economy, one of the most active and indefatigable, whom an age supremely addicted to such studies has produced, is Sir John Sinclair. This gentleman, of a vigorous and acute understanding, enriched with knowledge and methodized by erudition, had bestowed great industry of research on various branches of political philosophy. He had traced, investigated, and presented to the public, the history of the revenue. In the progress of his pursuits, agriculture presented itself to him as an object most deserving of promotion. He saw that very much remained to be done ; but before he could set about propositions of improvement, he thought it wisest and most expedient to ascertain the facts ; and therefore sought information where useful information was most likely to be found. In Scotland, his native country, he applied himself to the clergy, the best informed of any class of men of fixed rural residence, and addressed certain queries to the members of that numerous and respectable body. These queries, embracing the physical, moral, religious, and political situation of the respective parishes, in the result of the answers, produced an immense body of statistical knowledge, especially on pastoral and agricultural subjects. He afterwards, less systematically and extensively, executed, through different means, a similar plan in England. He advanced, however, so far as to ascertain a general fact of the very highest importance—that, though in some particular districts improved methods of cultivating the soil are practised, yet, in the greater part of these kingdoms, the principles of agriculture are not yet sufficiently understood, nor are the implements of husbandry, or the stock of the farmer, brought to that perfection of which they are capable. To promote so desirable a purpose, Sir John Sinclair projected the establishment of “ *A*

the following letters from the author of the Treatise on Rural Affairs ; from a learned professor now alive ; from a late distinguished philosopher ; and from an illustrious personage, whose sentiments on all topics connected with the national welfare, must be deeply interesting to every subject throughout his empire. Writing to Sir John Sinclair on high rents, Mr Brown says—" Had you not called the spirit of the country into action, and induced the tenantry to think as well as act, such rents would never have been thought of."*

Professor Low designates Sir John " the individual who has rendered the most essential services which any one has ever had it in his power to render to the agriculture of this country."† On another occasion he says:—" There is no one so justly entitled to speak of the claims of agriculture as you, whom all Europe admits to be its most zealous and distinguished supporter."‡

Board of Agriculture," to be composed of gentlemen perfectly acquainted with the subject, and considerably interested in the success of the scheme, and who should act without any reward or emolument. An address was proposed to the King, praying him to take into his royal consideration the advantage that might accrue from such an institution. His Majesty directing the establishment of the Board, the Commons voted the necessary sums for defraying the expenses, and the Board of Agriculture was accordingly established."

* Letter, dated 25th Jan. 1813.

† Letter, dated 14th Nov. 1831.

‡ Letter, dated August 3, 1833.

From Sir Humphrey Davy.

“ Jan. 6, 1809.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I am much obliged to you for the important document you had the kindness to send to me.

“ Amongst the various monuments of patriotism which you have raised, and for which posterity will bless you, this will not be one of the least useful. It is surprising that it should be so much more easy to make men attend to their pleasures than their interests ; yet, till within the last fifty years, agricultural economy was a dead letter. I hope you will live to see England independent of all foreign supplies. I can hardly conceive a greater or a more grateful triumph for you.

“ We are going on with the plan for the Royal Institution, and I trust it will become, with the assistance of the dignified and patriotic characters of the country, a great and permanent establishment. I am, dear sir, with the highest respect, your obliged servant,

“ H. DAVY.”

From His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence.

“ Bushy, Nov. 20, 1801.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I heartily agree with you that this country

might, by attention to its agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and above all, its fisheries, become not only the admiration and envy, but also the school of the universe. Without flattery, you were the first man of fashion that began the improvement of husbandry, and I have only the merit of being one of your most zealous followers. Ever believe me, dear sir, yours truly,

“ WILLIAM.”

“ Bushy-House, Feb. 22, 1827.

“ Dear Sir,

“ Last night I received yours of 18th instant, from Edinburgh, and its accompanying statement, for which accept my sincere thanks. Every nation ought to pay all possible attention and give every encouragement to agriculture. I must feel most sensibly the kind expressions you use in your letter towards myself; and wish, from the bottom of my heart, I had been of that real use to our country that your worthy self has been, and most particularly, at the head of the Board of Agriculture. I remain yours, unalterably,

“ WILLIAM.”

The usefulness of this great central Institution radiated to the remotest dependencies of the British crown. In Bengal, the chief agricultural deficiency had always been the scanty support for cattle and

horses. On the suggestion of the Board, Lucerne and Guinea grass were tried with success. I find the Court of Directors, in a despatch to Marquess Wellesley, the Governor-General, expressing their satisfaction at the prospect of these productions becoming "an invaluable acquisition to the Bengal provinces." I have not hitherto been able to ascertain how far this expectation has been realized. An eminent botanist, however, informs me that he received, some time ago, good specimens of Lucerne from Calcutta, though he was not aware, till I informed him, how the plant had been introduced. The Board likewise caused experiments to be made in the cultivation of potatoes and of hemp in the East Indies. For the improvement also of the West Indies, they transmitted a collection of seeds from Sumatra to Jamaica and St Vincent. This collection proved so acceptable, that the House of Assembly in the former island passed a vote of thanks to the donors. The Board was also the means of introducing into those islands that important article of shipbuilding, the teak tree.* I have much satisfaction in adding, that the West India body, both collectively and individually, took every opportunity to express their gratitude to Sir

* See Arthur Young's lecture to the Board, pp. 58, 59. In the communications to the Board, vol. iv. p. 277, a fact is mentioned, which shows the rapid growth of teak wood in the West Indies. A seed planted at Barbadoes in 1799, measured, in 1803, twenty-five feet in height, having grown at the rate of above six feet per annum.

John for his various exertions to promote colonial agriculture.

The President was able to be more useful in this foreign department, by securing the assistance of numbers, for whom he had procured situations in the colonies. To those who expressed gratitude for his patronage, his usual answer was, that all the return he asked would be to receive from them information or productions that might be useful to husbandry, either in other distant settlements or at home.

The interest taken in the proceedings of the Board was fully as great in all parts of continental Europe as in Great Britain itself. I have already noticed, that M. Otto, the French ambassador from the Consular Government, applied, in 1800, to the President for a list of such works relating to agriculture as were most likely to promote the internal improvement of France. While complying with this request, Sir John enclosed copies of a paper which he had then recently drawn up on experimental farms, together with some plans of circular cottages, and of a country village. His plan and papers were submitted to the National Institute, which appointed two of its own members, Messieurs Tessier and Cels, to examine and report upon them. These eminent savans not only gave a highly favourable report, but took occasion to express, in strong terms, their admiration of Sir John Sinclair's exertions in the general cause of humanity. The Institute voted him their thanks,

and ordered his communications to be printed and circulated among the members.* M. Tessier, in other instances, was quite eloquent in his eulogies of the Board. "True citizens," said he, "men who judge wisely, the cordial friends of France, cannot see, without a noble jealousy, England forming a Board of Agriculture. There is not a wise man, and a friend of humanity, who will not applaud with me operations so well concerted and so promptly executed." A number of my father's works were either abridged, as I have already noticed, in the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, or translated entire into various continental languages. He received diplomas from many of the philosophical, and from almost all the agricultural societies of Europe; he carried on an extensive correspondence, not only with Tessier above-named, but with Lasteyrie, Silvestre, Maurice, Pictet, Hertzberg, D'Einsiedel, Voght, Edelerantz, Hauterive, and other noted patrons of his favourite science; he was, moreover, in the habit of receiving visits from foreign students of agriculture, who anxiously consulted him on the subject, having come from the most opposite

* Vide "*Mémoires présenté à l'Institut des Sciences, Lettres et Arts, par divers savans, et lus dans les Assemblées des Sciences Mathématiques et Physics. Tome premier. Paris: Baudouin, imprimeur de l'Institut, 1806.*" The leading article is entitled, "*Projet d'un plan, pour établir des fermes expérimentales, et pour fixer les principes des progrès de l'Agriculture; par Sir John Sinclair, Bart., &c. &c. Lule 11 Messidor, An 8.*"

extremities of Europe, from Finland or Calabria, from Volhynia or Andalusia.

Nor was America less alive than Europe to the benefits resulting from this rich and varied storehouse of agricultural knowledge. Washington recommended an American Board of Agriculture, constructed on the plan of that in England. And although a national establishment of this nature was not founded for the whole union, yet his suggestion was adopted by the State of New York, which, in 1819, appropriated out of the public treasury 10,000 dollars annually for the improvement of husbandry. The success of this institution is universally acknowledged in America. An intelligent country gentleman, of the state just mentioned, G. W. Featherstonehaugh, Esq. of Duanesburgh, thus writes to my father: "In promoting agriculture, we have imitated Great Britain, as in many of her other prominent arts and sciences; and these interesting circumstances give additional strength to that natural bond between the two countries, arising from family connexions, similarity of language, mode of living, customs, &c., which, I trust, will always unite them in the successful pursuit of all those objects which tend to render human life dignified and desirable."

To give some idea of the confidence with which foreign agriculturists relied upon the judgment and philanthropy of Sir John Sinclair, I may here introduce a few specimens, such as first occur to me, of

the requests, queries, and suggestions transmitted to him from all parts of the world, and, in many instances, by persons whom he had never seen or heard of. Major Stjernsward asks advice as to the proper method of improving ten thousand acres of rich land in Egenholm in Sweden. M. Collett, of Christiania, offers an account of his experiments at Ullevold in Norway for insertion among the transactions of the Board. M. Ankar, of Copenhagen, enquires how noblemen from Denmark may obtain instruction in British agriculture. The Chevalier Buckhardt of Bavaria desires to have a list of English works on husbandry, particularly on the breeding of sheep and horses. M. Von Hoffen of Idolsberg, in Austria, solicits information with respect to thrashing-machines and distillation. M. de Liebistor, President of the Agricultural Society at Berne, wishes to know the rules adopted by the Board with respect to the reward of merit. M. Fellenberg of Hofwyl offers to exchange Swiss for British implements of husbandry. M. Serwinski of Biala, near Warsaw, offers to send a "socha," or Lithuanian plough, for trial in Great Britain. Count Zenobio of Venice, asks for specimens of Shetland rams, and offers rams from Pavia in return. Mr Robert Sinclair of Baltimore, in Maryland, describes minutely the soil and situation of his Transatlantic farm, and enquires the best rotation of crops and instruments of tillage. Lastly, Mr William

Dunn, of East Florida, is desirous of information as to the style of culture most adapted to a sandy soil.

The period during which Sir John Sinclair presided over the Board of Agriculture was in all thirteen years. He had solicited its establishment as the reward of his public services ; but after he had, during five years, discharged the duties of his office, laboriously and without emolument, or rather at great private expense, he was suddenly displaced through the influence of Mr Pitt. That Minister appears to have become jealous of the general popularity and influence with the landed and farming interest acquired by the President and Founder, who, he perhaps conceived, was acting too independently of ministerial dictation. However this may be, at the instance of Lord Chancellor Rosslyn, he set up Lord Somerville in opposition to Sir John Sinclair, and exerted all the influence of his Government in favour of the new candidate. Lord Somerville, who had, at his own request, been admitted by Sir John a member of the Board, came forward with great reluctance, and only after receiving notice, that if he declined another competitor would be found, or the Board extinguished.

On the day of election, a somewhat extraordinary scene occurred. The official members, whose connexion with the establishment was merely nominal, who had never attended its meetings, and who were ignorant of its interests and operations, made their first appearance in the apartments of the Board

for the very equivocal purpose of displacing their venerable and patriotic founder. In justice to several individuals, it may be stated, that they were above being influenced by ministerial solicitations. The Archbishop of York (Dr Markham), in particular, wrote to my father, that he had been applied to by the Minister to vote against him, but that he would not be "made a tool of to do a dishonourable act." Most of the ordinary members were faithful to their leader, with whose efficiency they were made acquainted by their discharge of their own duties. Sir Joseph Banks was an exception, but he afterwards wrote a letter, apologizing for his defection, and expressing his hope that this circumstance would cause no interruption of their future friendship.* Mr Fane, member for Oxfordshire, wrote to assure Sir John, that if he "was alive he would attend the Board to support him." The result, however, was unfavourable; the official members prevailed, and Lord Somerville, by a majority of only one, was elected.

Letters, expressive of astonishment, regret, and even disgust, were addressed from all quarters to Sir John Sinclair by the friends of agriculture, who foreboded

* "I hope," concludes Sir Joseph, "we shall meet together at the club, and talk over all matters that concern us, either as members of the Board, or fellows of the Royal Society, as they may in their turns present themselves to our minds. Believe me, my dear sir, with real esteem and regard, very faithfully yours,

"J. BANKS."

ill to the Board from the loss of his superintendence. Bishop Watson enlarges on the "shamelessness of his dismissal," and on the blame belonging to those honorary voters "who," he says, "condescended to turn you out at the instance of the Minister." Warren Hastings, in his retirement at Daylesford, hearing of this event, expressed an emotion which does him honour. Writing to my father, he says, "I read some time since, with great sorrow, that the Board, which owes its origin to your fostering hand, and had attained under it so great a degree of improvement, was deprived of your services. Still, if it should continue to be prosecuted with a portion of that zeal which has hitherto animated its researches (which I much doubt), yours will be the prime merit of all its future successes; and if it falls into neglect, even the point at which it began to fail will serve for a memorial of the spirit of its institutor." The following letter of the first Marquess of Lansdowne is expressive of the same sentiments.

" Berkeley Square, 4th June, 1798.

" Dear Sir,

" Though I am very much recovered from a tedious illness which detained me at Bath, I am not well enough to pay visits, else my first would be to you, to express my surprise and concern at your being no longer President of the Board of Agriculture. If

it succeeds in other hands, the honour of the Institution will be always yours ; if it falls off, it will add to the public regret, while I have no doubt your activity and public spirit will always find a road to fresh distinction.

“ I am forbid to see much company, but if you do me the honour to call here any day before two o’clock, you will be sure to find my door open. I am, dear sir, your faithful humble servant,

“ LANSDOWNE.”

Many other communications to the same effect are now before me, but I shall only quote a letter from His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence. “ I always thought the removal of so enlightened a President as yourself from the Board of Agriculture shameful ; and the letter I now return you proves how much harm has accrued to the country.” *

Nor was it individuals unconnected with the Board, or the minority of the Board itself, who expressed to Sir John Sinclair their high sense of his services to the Institution. The Board, in its corporate capacity, passed a vote of thanks to him, which was communicated in the following letter of Lord Somerville, his successor.

“ Sir,

“ It is with the greatest pleasure that I execute

* Letter dated Bushy Park, 7th Dec. 1803.

the request of the Board of Agriculture, to convey to you the unanimous thanks of that body, of which the following is an exact copy.

“ ‘ RESOLVED unanimously, that a letter, signed by the President, be sent to the late President, expressive of the thanks of the Board for his great attention to the duties of his office, while he presided at the Board, and for his great zeal to promote the objects of this Institution.’

“ Permit me to add, that I cordially unite in this idea, and am most truly yours,

“ SOMERVILLE, *President*.

“ Park Lane, May 14th, 1798.”

Towards his successor Sir John cherished sentiments of attachment and respect. They had much friendly intercourse ; and in the year 1819, when his Lordship died, Sir John took occasion publicly to express his sentiments in the following terms :—“ I have now the melancholy task of condoling with the agricultural world on the death of my much-lamented friend Lord Somerville. He was a character who did equal honour to the peerage and to the plough ; for, with the manners and the high spirit of his rank, he united all the useful and solid knowledge of a practical farmer. His name must ever be remembered with respect, while agriculture continues to hold its

proper station as the grand foundation of our national prosperity.”

After an interval of eight years, the Founder of the Board of Agriculture was again elected President, to the great displeasure of his friend Bishop Watson, who felt indignant that he should again accept an office “from which he had been so shamefully dismissed; but which his zeal, his services, and talents so eminently qualified him to hold.” My father continued President for seven years, during which period he received much encouragement and assistance from his friend Mr Perceval, the Prime Minister. That excellent statesman raised the grant to the Board for one year from L.3000 to L.5000; and when the Secretary to the Treasury objected, he sharply replied, “I wish most sincerely that all the money we vote was spent as usefully as this will be.”

In 1813, the expensiveness of the situation, which had considerably reduced his private fortune, obliged the Baronet finally to resign his office.

I have already mentioned that King George III. entertained at first a lively interest in the proceedings of the Board, and was pleased to take under his patronage the Agricultural Survey of the kingdom. I have now, however, to relate a circumstance, which, though trivial in itself, may have caused his Majesty to regard the institution with less favour. It is well known that his Majesty was not only a friend to husbandry, but a practical agriculturist, and occupied

a large farm at Windsor, which he carefully and successfully superintended. His manager, Mr Kent, received the King's commands to appoint a day for the President and Secretary of the Board of Agriculture to inspect the royal farm. Whether the King meant to take them by surprise, or whether Mr Kent committed an oversight in not mentioning that his Majesty was to be of the party, is uncertain; but my father and Mr Young did not understand that any other person but Mr Kent was to meet them. On the day appointed, business occurred which made a journey to Windsor inconvenient, and they did not scruple to postpone their visit. Mean while his Majesty mounted his horse, and, in spite of fog and drizzling rain, proceeded to the farm, where he remained for some time expecting their arrival. This disappointment, although the circumstances were afterwards explained, left a disagreeable impression on his mind; and it was remarked, that his countenance from that period was not given as before to the Board of Agriculture.

From the period of the Baronet's resignation, the gloomy anticipations of Warren Hastings and Lord Lansdowne began to be realized. While the activity of the Board was declining, the odium against it continued to increase. Such became its feebleness, that the sum of L.2000 was actually returned to the Treasury, because no object, it was alleged, could be found on which that sum might be advantageously expend-

ed. The energetic Secretary, also, who had frequently lamented the supineness of individual members, and whose letters to his friend Sir John often repeated the complaint :—" We want active minds to come among us," or " the want of your vivifying presence makes every thing go on much slower," yielded at length to the infirmities of nature. After being blind for some years, he died in 1820.

By the death of Arthur Young, the Board lost an able functionary ; agriculturists a valuable example ; and society an excellent and religious man. He had long been an esteemed fellow-labourer with my father, who, at the request of the family, drew up an epitaph to commemorate his talents and virtues.

During the decline of the Board, the great crisis arrived of agricultural distress, which followed the last general peace. Many farming societies, discouraged by the pressure of the times, discontinued their operations. That the same fate should befall the National Board of Agriculture, was the wish of various parties. Many excellent clergymen retained their suspicions that the Board, by urging a commutation of tithes, betrayed hostility to the church. Many gentlemen of the law were apprehensive that the Board might at last accomplish that much dreaded measure—a general enclosure bill. No small portion of the farming classes joined in the cry ; and at a time when the ingenuity of the Treasury was continually at work, and wellnigh exhausted in devising

new imposts, they seriously imagined that the surveys of the kingdom, so zealously prosecuted by the Board, were intended as instruments of taxation. The lovers of good eating also, as historic truth compels us to record, went over to the ranks of the enemy. It was stated, not only in the House of Commons, but in numerous pamphlets and newspapers, that the great object of the Board was to bring meat to market so fat that nobody could eat it; although, as Arthur Young argues, the Board never offered a single premium for cattle of such extraordinary obesity, and although it was obvious that what nobody would eat, nobody would rear or bring to market. Many influential parties, who had originally opposed the institution of the Board, either in the Cabinet or in Parliament, were little disposed to acknowledge services which impeached their own sagacity. Lord Liverpool, in particular, resolved, as Premier, to have the satisfaction of destroying that edifice, whose foundation, as a subordinate Minister, he had endeavoured to prevent. The scanty grant, which, under judicious management, had accomplished such mighty objects, was withdrawn. A faint attempt was made to sustain the tottering structure by private subscriptions, which, as appears from a letter to my father from the last President, the Earl of Macclesfield, were defective and ill paid. At last the premises in Sackville Street were disposed of, and the fortress dismantled, to which agriculturists had so long resorted for advice

and protection. The expiring act of the Board solicited the Government, "nothing loath," to take possession of its books and papers—those monuments of a zeal, industry, and intelligence, which a feeble Minister was incapable of appreciating. Many years afterwards, the Author of these Memoirs, visiting the Tower of London, was shown, in the Record-office, a huge solid mass of documents; and on enquiring the nature of this mighty accumulation, was answered, "These are the papers of the Board of Agriculture."

Such was the fate of an institution of which Lord Lansdowne affirmed, in the House of Lords, that "its establishment was the only good exertion of Mr Pitt's Administration" *—an institution, of which that venerable patriot, King George III., declared that "he should consider every person who came forward with his assistance to its transactions, as contributing importantly to the good of his country"—an institution of which M. Tessier, the great French agriculturist, affirmed, that "there was not a wise man, and a friend of humanity, who would not applaud with him operations so well concerted, and so promptly executed." †

How far the wonderful and unprecedented increase

* See Arthur Young's Lecture.

† See *Annales de l'Agriculture Française*, No. 7. Communications to the Board of Agriculture, vol. i. p. 386.

of tillage, within the last half century, is owing, directly or indirectly, to the exertions of the Board of Agriculture, cannot of necessity be ascertained. The impartial reader may solve the question for himself, by means of the facts and authorities above advanced. Certain it is, however, that even the strides of manufactures and commerce, wide and rapid as they have been, have scarcely kept pace with the progress of rural industry. In no country of the world, at no period of history, have results so stupendous been exhibited—results which affect not merely the strength and happiness of Great Britain, but which, in various ways, may contribute prospectively to the well-being of the remotest countries, and most distant times. In consequence of discoveries made in husbandry, and of the enterprise and perseverance which adopted and applied them, a territory containing, about the middle of the last century, a population of only seven millions and a half, is now inhabited by more than seventeen millions. All this vast multitude have been for several years rendered independent of foreign supplies; while, at the same time, they are fed more abundantly, and on more nutritious food, than the smaller population of preceding ages. The New World, in its juvenile freshness and vigour, with its gigantic magnitude, its unbounded resources, and untiring industry, may present a spectacle as magnificent; but, to use the words of a high authority,

“ the history of the world may be ransacked in vain for a parallel instance of improvement in any old and settled country.” *

* See Edinburgh Review, No. 126.

CHAPTER III.

Addington Administration—Duke of Clarence—Bishop Watson—Impeachment of Lord Melville—Fox Administration—Mr Sinclair's Adventure with Napoleon—Codean System—Code of Health—Code of Agriculture—Roxburghe Cause—Indian Claims—Ossian—Highland Societies—Spanish Patriots—Spherical Case-shot—Bul lion Question—Retirement from Public Life.

IN my three foregoing chapters I have, at some length, described my father's improvements in his native country, his Statistical Account of Scotland, and his Board of Agriculture. It is now time to resume, in chronological order, his political career.

It is difficult to determine at what precise period the party to which I have adverted under the name of the "Armed Neutrality," began to be formed, or was dissolved. The members were not, strictly speaking, in subordination to any leader; nor was there such identity of political feeling among them as would keep them from merging into one or other of the two great parties between whom they were placed. As the result of much experience, my father was led to the conclusion, that associations composed of independent men have no adequate principles of cohesion, and are of little practical utility. All the members

are eager to guide, and none willing to follow. Each is inordinately attached to his own opinions ; and, when these are not adopted, he takes offence, and withdraws himself. Sir John saw the absolute necessity of regularly formed parties in a complicated government like ours ; and frequently declared, that if the House of Commons consisted solely, or even principally, of men acknowledging no leader—men proceeding on no fixed principles of union, the business of the nation must soon be at a stand. Lord Melville used to express this sentiment very pointedly in his favourite toast, “ a strong Administration, and a firm Opposition.”

Among my father's private memoranda I find a curious paper, describing the state of parties while Mr Addington was in power. Exclusive of minor sections, they amounted to no less than seven, namely, the friends of the King and his Minister, occupying a central position, with those of Mr Pitt, Lord Melville, and Lord Grenville on the one hand, and on the other those of the Prince of Wales and Mr Fox. In the King's party were included many members of both Houses, who, from motives of personal esteem, of private interest, or of political expediency, were anxious to support the government of George III., whoever might be his Counsellors. The Grenville party, or New Opposition, took the lead in the attack upon the Minister, and received occasional support from Mr Pitt, who, at the same time, maintained

privately a connexion with several members of the Cabinet, in particular with Mr Addington, Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord Castlereagh. So eager were the Grenvilles for the return of Mr Pitt to office, that they affirmed any man to be a public enemy who kept him out; "a strange declaration," observes Sir John, "considering who the person is that can alone replace him." Lord Melville, it was understood, would carry with him about thirty members if he joined the Administration. The friends of the Prince of Wales, headed by Lord Moira, were a numerous body, but their real strength did not appear, as his Royal Highness would not at that time take an active part in politics.

Assailed by powerful enemies on both sides, the Ministry could hardly attend to any thing but their own preservation—they could not venture upon the vigorous and decisive measures necessary at so critical a juncture for the public safety. They could not even stand without additional support. Sir John conceived that the most natural addition to their strength would be the friends of the Prince of Wales. He wrote, accordingly, to Mr Bragge, a relation of the Premier, suggesting that Lord Moira should be invited to take office. He urged that the noble Lord would not only, by his talents for public speaking, be a powerful supporter in the Upper House, where a fit antagonist to Lord Grenville was much wanted, but would also, by his military experience, his politi-

cal connexions, and his influence with the heir-apparent, contribute to the vigour and stability of the Administration.

In the mean time, the Baronet had prepared the way for the intended accession to the Cabinet, by writing to his noble friend, from whom he received an answer not unfavourable to the project.

Letter from the Earl of Moira.

“ Donington, Dec. 2, 1801.

“ My dear Sir John,

“ All that you say of the feebleness of the present Administration, both with regard to Parliamentary support and to general opinion through the country, is perfectly just. It is clear, that in a moment of such infinite exigency as the present, Government cannot go on upon such precarious terms. There are many public circumstances, the pressure of which must be immediately answered; and if they cannot (as is beyond hope) be satisfactorily encountered, the people should at least have the notion that the embarrassment arises from the nature of the difficulties themselves, and not from inadequacy of skill in those who manage affairs. The latter supposition would affect more than the Administration; and, in the qualmish state of public disposition, would operate mischievously against our form of government. It is probable that Mr Addington will cast about to

strengthen himself. He is an honourable and an amiable man ; with, I believe, many just and manly principles respecting the execution of the trust reposed in him. Of course, there could not be, *in limine*, any objection to such a junction as you indicate. Ulterior points would possibly be difficult to settle. The opening which you exhibit for communication has been anticipated by a discussion of the Premier's situation, which took place long since ; and, I trust, something has been matured for extricating his Royal Highness from a position intended to lower him in the estimation of the country. Thank Heaven, it has had the very contrary effect ; but he has suffered under it in his personal feelings too long. Perhaps I may run up to town in a few days, but it is doubtful.

“ I have the honour, my dear Sir John, to be, very faithfully, yours,

“ MOIRA.

“ Sir J. Sinclair, Bart.”

I need hardly inform the reader that this negotiation failed. Mr Addington could not venture upon a step which would have brought him nearer to the Whig party, or Old Opposition, and would have estranged him altogether from Mr Pitt. His situation is depicted in a very lively manner by various correspondents of my father, out of whom I select his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, and Mr Tyrwhitt, M.P. Secretary to the Prince. “ Had

this country," says the Duke, "an able and active Administration, I should be afraid of nothing: but, in my opinion, our Ministers, and even the country, want energy, which I will endeavour to give it in every debate we shall have in Parliament. I am ready either for the Cabinet or the fleet; but I have no reason to expect either situation, and must, therefore, do all the good I can in Parliament; and, if the invasion does take place, I shall have the honour of attending his Majesty, if permitted." *

A subsequent letter has these words:—"As for politics, you never heard me say I thought the present Administration efficient, and without doubt Lord Hobart is the worst of all. But I see no likelihood of a change; where Pitt goes against Addington, there Fox will support Ministers; and Fox will oppose Government in those measures which Pitt will approve. In short, if these champions could unite, they would not carry one hundred members out of six hundred and fifty-eight. The crown, the union with Ireland, and above all, the dread of the times, will, in my opinion, prevent a change of men. Certainly Lord Moira ought to be brought forward, and I wish the overtures of the Prince of Wales had not been rejected." †

Mr Tyrwhitt expresses similar sentiments in a strain of characteristic jocularly. "Rumour says

* Dated Bushy House, June 29, 1803.

† Letter, dated Bushy House, Oct. 18, 1803.

the Grenvilles and Pitt are again one ; if so, the *Doctor* cannot stand long ;* but really it appears to me to require a supernatural genius to guess what is probable to happen, or who will be Minister. All I know is, that there seems at present want of confidence in the public as far as regards the present men.”† About a year afterwards, Mr Tyrwhitt thus renews his conjectures :—“ The latest intelligence to be relied on brings a certainty we shall have to contend *pro aris et focis*. You will have observed how each party has flirted with the other. Till some junction takes place, the Doctor will continue to pursue his milk-and-water system. He may have, and certainly enjoys, a majority it is true ; but it is also true there is a general want of confidence, and rumour states that a question is to be cooked, on which two hundred will be brought to the post against the Doctor. What this can be, unless it be the Catholic question, I cannot imagine.”‡ A more favourable opinion of the Addington Administration is given by my father’s old friend the Earl of Buchan (eldest brother of Lord Chancellor Erskine), who draws a comparison between the Premier and his predecessor thus :—“ I like the present Chancellor of the Exchequer the better for his having been long in the trammels of a Speaker of

* Mr Addington, as the son of an eminent physician, was sometimes familiarly spoken of in the political circles by the medical title of his father.

† Letter, dated Carlton House, 10th November, 1802.

‡ Carlton House, December 16, 1803.

the House of Commons, and having been more accustomed to hear and to act than to harangue and to disturb. If the son of my old friend Chatham, instead of having been brought from Eton school to govern a great nation, had been nursed, like Addington, or bred up in the school of adversity like the old cock his father, he would have been in a more enviable and honourable situation, and certainly in a more useful one than he is or can be at present."

Sir John Sinclair and his political friends had agreed, as we have seen, in approving the peace of Amiens; but the insatiable ambition of the First Consul, who maintained his armies on a war establishment, and acted as the dictator of the continent, adding new territories to his dominions without scruple or apology, made it clear to them that the treaty of Amiens was a dangerous armistice, rather than a settled peace. The following extract from a letter of the Duke of Clarence, shows that his Royal Highness, who took a lively interest in the politics of the times, concurred in this opinion.

"I am happy to see you think with me that war is better than the state we have been in since the *truce* (I will not call it the *peace*) of Amiens. I cannot help thinking war must be the event. In this case, and indeed in any other, the valuable and interesting paper respecting parties you sent me, will form a page in the history of the country.*

* The paper above described.

“ I shall now conclude with this sentiment—either a glorious and vigorous war, or an honourable and safe peace, which must secure to the King and the empire, *Malta imprimis* ; *no footing* in America to France ; *no foreign* possessions to be required by France, either of Spain, Portugal, or Holland ; *no more than a certain proportion of ships and troops* to be maintained by France in India ; and *last, though not least, no commercial agent*, or, in other words, no distinguished officers of the French artillery and engineers to be permitted by Great Britain to reside in her sea-port towns throughout the empire. I think we must, and do agree. Adieu.”

The sentiments of Lord Moira, to the same effect, are embodied in the following letter :—

“ Donington, Nov. 6, 1802.

“ Many thanks, my dear Sir John, for the printed Report which I yesterday received from you, as well as for your obliging letter. The publication is of a very useful nature.

“ I do not think any discussions are likely to arise, in the present moment, of consequence sufficient to make it worth your while to take your seat before Christmas. That we shall have war I firmly believe, but I am persuaded that Buonaparte, by the semblance of an accommodating disposition on the points in dispute, will protract the time of rupture till he

shall be better prepared to strike at our foreign possessions. The delay will not be above three or four months. In the mean while, an arrangement is in agitation, and will, I think, take place, by which Pitt is again to be Prime Minister. He is not to transact business with the King, but Addington (peer and Privy Seal) is to be charged with that function. Lord Westmoreland probably displaces Lord Hobart; the Duke of Portland remains; Lord Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Windham, not to be taken in. Such is the outline of a plan which certainly has been presented, and has been in some degree approved. You see what a jumble it is; Lord St Vincent is vehement against it. It is possible I may soon see you. The Duc de Berri has proposed to visit me early in spring. I ought to make my bow to him, and I may probably arrange to make the jaunt with the Duke of Orleans, who has the same intention. I have the honour to be your faithful and obedient servant,

“MOIRA.”

The coincidence of my father's sentiments with those of his above named friends, appears from a printed paper on the political state of Europe, drawn up by him, December 1803, for the consideration of a foreign statesman, high in office, with the pointed motto—“*Nam tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.*” In this document, which came out a few months after the renewal of hostilities, the author

enlarges on the happy state of Europe during the period of a just balance of power previous to the French Revolution. He then presents to view the dismal contrast in the aspect of affairs after this balance had been destroyed. He represents one country, with 500,000 warriors at her command, proudly intimating, that whoever ventured to dispute her will, must be conquered or destroyed. He points to a military despot forcing, by a tyrannical conscription, the whole youth of France, and of her allies, to be the instruments of his ambition, carrying on hostilities amidst all the horrors of winter, when, by the inclemency of the weather, greater numbers perished on both sides than by the sword of the enemy; and, in his career of conquest, not confining his assaults to states and fortresses and armies, but waging war with all the moral and religious principles of mankind. France, he observes, is aiming at greatness by rapine and spoliation; Britain, by the peaceful arts of commerce and industry. The former is provoking wantonly the enmity, the latter studies to obtain the friendship of her neighbours. France considers it her interest to make all other nations her tributaries and slaves; Britain rests her welfare on their independence and security, labouring to promote their interests as zealously as her own. Opposed in single combat, the two countries could each maintain an unassailable position. The one would continue mistress of the sea, while the other ruled the continent. The conti-

mental powers must speedily unite with us against the common enemy; or, if they abandoned us in the hour of peril, they could have no claim upon our gratitude, when at last goaded by increasing tyranny into resistance, they tardily and selfishly solicited our intervention.

This paper excited much attention at the time, and the author was applied to by M. Mallet du Pan, for permission to translate it for circulation on the continent. The following is his letter on the subject :—

“ Monsieur le Chevalier,

“ Me trouvant effectivement à passer huit jours chez notre digne ami le Chevalier Macpherson, lorsqu’il reçut votre *Essai sur la Situation Politique de l’Europe*, je fus si frappé des vérités utiles qu’il renferma et du jour heureux sous lesquels elles sont présentées, que je le priai de vous demander la permission de me le remettre pour le traduire. Votre lettre du 14, Monsieur le Chevalier, est venue me l’accorder dans les termes les plus obligeans, et je vous dois des grâces sincères de m’avoir procuré la satisfaction sincère d’aider à faire connoître un ouvrage aussi plein de choses fortes, et de vues intéressantes.

“ Mes occupations d’office, et la crainte d’en retarder la completion, m’a empêché de rendre à cet *essai* toute la justice qu’il méritait : j’espère que vous voudrez bien en excuser l’imperfection.

“ J’ai un peu usé, Monsieur le Chevalier, de la permission que vous m’avez accordée dans votre lettre, en laissant de côté quelques expressions qui étaient dirigées au chef des Etats Unis plutôt qu’au continent. J’ai aussi adouci et étendu quelques paragraphes un peu trop *veridiques* pour les oreilles auxquels ils sont adressés, et j’ai ajouté quelques idées qui me sont venues pendant la rédaction, et qui vous voudrez bien retrancher *in toto* si elles vous paraissent superflues. En général, connaissant l’esprit jaloux et envieux du Continent, et les reproches quelquefois fondés qu’il a adressés à nos auteurs polémiques, j’ai usé de beaucoup de ménagement dans l’expression des sentimens que nous inspire sa conduite ; sachant surtout que vos réflexions étaient principalement destinées à être lues par des Ministres et autres hommes d’état.

“ Permettez moi, Monsieur le Chevalier, de vous exprimer la satisfaction que j’éprouve d’une circonstance qui me permet la satisfaction de me rappeler à votre souvenir, et de vous offrir l’hommage des sentimens de respect avec lesquels j’ai l’honneur d’être, Monsieur le Chevalier, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

“ TH. MALLET DU PAN.

“ Auditor’s Office, 21 Janvier, 1804.

“ Si vous pouviez me faire parvenir par quelque oc-

casion quelques exemplaires de l'essai Français, j'en remettrais à plusieurs Ministres étrangers." *

* " Auditor's Office, January 21, 1804.

" Sir,

" Happening fortunately to be spending eight days with our worthy friend the Chevalier M'Pherson, when he received your Essay on the Political Situation of Europe, I was so struck by the useful truths which it contains, and the happy time of their appearance, that I begged him to ask your permission to forward it to me for translation. Your letter, sir, of the 14th, granted me that permission in the most obliging terms ; and I owe you my sincere thanks for having put it in my power to aid in the circulation of a work so full of sound sense and interesting information.

" My official occupations, and the fear of retarding its completion, have prevented me from doing your Essay the justice it deserves ; but I rely upon your goodness to pardon my imperfections.

" I have made use, sir, of the permission you gave me in your letter, to omit some expressions addressed to the Chief of the United States, rather than to the Continent. I have also softened and extended some paragraphs a little too *true* for the ears to which they are addressed ; and I have added some ideas which were suggested during my work, and which you are at liberty to repress *in toto*, if they seem to you superfluous. In general, knowing the jealous and envious spirit of the Continent, and the reproaches (sometimes well-founded) which it has levelled against our polemical authors, I have been very cautious in my expression of the sentiments which its conduct inspires. For I was aware that your reflections were chiefly designed for the perusal of Ministers and other statesmen.

" Permit me, sir, to express my delight at a circumstance which allows me to recall myself to your remembrance, and to assure you of the sentiments of respect with which I have the honour to be, sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

" TH. MALLET DU PAN.

" P.S.—If you could send me by any opportunity some

Soon afterwards Sir John drew up, for circulation among his friends, his "Outline of a Plan for humbling France." In this paper he insists on the necessity, in case the war upon the Continent were renewed, of uniting the three great Continental powers in alliance against France. He proposes that Austria should be conciliated by the prospect of regaining her Italian provinces; Russia, by a subsidy, and by the grant of rank and territory to the House of Baden, with which the Emperor was connected by marriage; and Prussia, by the cession of Hanover, and the exchange of a royal for an imperial crown. It is singular, that, in the proposed offers to Prussia, was included, by anticipation, the very bribe by which Napoleon, about a year afterwards, during his contest with Russia and Austria, purchased her impolitic and disastrous neutrality.

Now that the war with the French Emperor has terminated in the complete triumph of this country, we are apt to forget the terror, bordering on despair, which, in many cases, overwhelmed even the strongest minds while the conflict was proceeding. The only way, perhaps, in which such of my readers, as are not old enough distinctly to recollect their own feelings, can be given to understand fully the state of public opinion during that feverish crisis, is by presenting, for their perusal, the letters of distinguished copies of the French Essay, I will forward them to many foreign ministers."

men, expressing, from day to day, their views of passing events, and stating, with the openness of familiar correspondence, their anticipations. Among my father's correspondents, there is none better fitted for this purpose than Bishop Watson—a man of powerful understanding and cool judgment.

In August, 1803, the Bishop (at the suggestion, as I believe, of my father) published anonymously his very able pamphlet, entitled “Important Considerations for the People of Great Britain.”* His object was to excite public hatred and indignation against the cruelty and ambition of the French Ruler; and to depict, in the boldest colours, the horrors of subjugation by a tyrant so bloodthirsty and rapacious. Perhaps the miseries of a conquered people never were so powerfully described, as in the conclusion of this spirit-stirring composition.†

* Printed for John Brown, Anchor Close, Edinburgh.

† The following is the passage referred to in the text:—

“They” (the French) “remained but three months in Germany; here they would remain for ever; there their extortions and their atrocities were, for want of time, confined to a part of the people; here they would be universal; no sort, no part, no particle of property would remain unseized; no man, woman, or child, would escape violence of some kind or other. Such of our manufactories as are moveable they would transport to France, together with the most ingenious of the manufacturers, whose wives and children would be left to starve; our ships would follow the same course, with all the commerce and commercial means of the kingdom. Having stripped us of every thing, even to the stoutest of our sons, and the most beautiful of our daughters, over all that

His Lordship says,

“ November 16, 1803.

“ I mean to go to London after Christmas, unless the genius, the good fortune, the I know not

remained they would establish and exercise a tyranny such as the world never before witnessed. All the estates, all the farms, all the mines, all the land and the houses, all the shops and magazines, all the remaining manufactories, and all the workshops, of every kind and description, from the greatest to the smallest—all these they would bring over Frenchmen to possess, making us their servants and labourers. To prevent us from uniting and rising against them, they would crowd every town and village with their brutal soldiers—who would devour all the best part of the produce of the earth, leaving us not half a sufficiency of bread. They would besides introduce their own bloody laws, with additional severities—they would divide us into separate classes—hem us up in districts—cut off all communication between friends and relations, parents and children, which latter they would breed up in their own blasphemous principles; they would affix badges upon us—mark us in the cheek—shave our heads—split our ears, or clothe us in the habits of slaves!—And shall we submit to misery and degradation like this, rather than encounter the expenses of war; rather than meet the honourable dangers of military combat; rather than make a generous use of the means which Providence has so bounteously placed in our hands? The sun, in his whole course round the globe, shines not on a spot so blessed as this great and now United Kingdom—gay and productive fields, lofty and extensive woods, innumerable flocks and herds, rich and inexhaustible mines, a mild and wholesome climate, giving health, activity, and vigour to fourteen millions of people; and shall we, who are thus favoured and endowed—shall we, who are abundantly supplied with steel, powder, and lead—shall we, who have a fleet superior to the maritime force of all the world, and who are able to bring two millions of fighting men into the field—shall we yield up this dear and happy land, together with all the liberties and honours, to

what (which I dread) of Buonaparte, should hinder me.”

“ June 28th, 1804.

“ My fears are not lessened since I left town. I have, however, more reliance on the volunteers than I had in my journey hither ” (to Llandaff). “ I saw at Preston, at Wrexham, and other places, some excellent bodies of them, well equipped and fit for service. The plan of the Emperor of the French is to try his strength with us by his fleet, at the same time that he invades us. One naval victory would endanger our existence—I say, endanger it ; but I do not despair of our resistance by land. I know not what to say to the politics of Carlton House ; I do not ap-

preserve which our fathers so often dyed the land and the sea with their blood? Shall we thus at once dishonour their graves, and stamp disgrace and infamy on the brows of our children? And shall we, too, make this base and dastardly surrender to an enemy, whom, within these twelve years, our countrymen have defeated in every quarter of the world? No ; we are not so miserably fallen—we cannot, in so short a space of time, have become so detestably degenerate : we have the strength and the will to repel the hostility, to chastise the insolence of the foe. Mighty, indeed, must be our efforts, but mighty also is the meed. Singly engaged against the tyrants of the earth, Britain now attracts the eyes and the hearts of mankind ; groaning nations look to her for deliverance—justice, liberty, and religion, are inscribed on her banners—her success will be hailed with the shouts of the universe, while tears of admiration and gratitude will bedew the heads of her sons who fall in the glorious contest.”

prove of a son's opposing a father, or of an heir-apparent grasping the reins of government before his time; yet circumstances may arise, which would, in the estimation of the most dispassionate, not only excuse, but justify the present interference of the Prince of Wales; and I think so well of him, that I must believe such circumstances to have arisen."

" December 22, 1804.

" I am overwhelmed with fears for our existence as a nation. France will domineer over the world; we cannot attack her, and she need not attack us. Her menaces will destroy our finances, and excess of taxation will breed discontent. Adieu."

" December 26, 1804.

" I am not fond of referring every calamity to God's Providence inflicting punishment for our sins; yet I am less disposed to exclude his agency in the government of individuals and nations. We are afflicted with war; and I fear the pestilence of the Yellow Fever is proceeding towards us. I dread this contagion more than I do Buonaparte's invasion, and yet I am sufficiently alarmed by the expectation of that."

" 29th October, 1805.

" You know more of politics than I do; but I am more and more convinced of the truth of the fol-

lowing sentence, which was in the speech I made in the House in March last year:—‘ The die, my Lords, is in the air, which, by its fall, will indicate the ruin of Buonaparte or of Britain, which will indicate the consequent reduction of all the states of Europe under the military yoke of the French republic.’ ”

“ 7th of August, 1805.

“ You cannot well imagine how much I am alarmed at our present situation ; not indeed ultimately and individually alarmed, because my mind is made up to every thing. I can submit to every thing but dishonour, and it must be my own fault if I ever submit to *that*. Yet I have a sad presage that this country must succumb under the power of France ; all other nations are asleep, and they will not awaken till they are stunned by the hammers of despotism fastening Gallic chains around the necks of every people in Europe.”

“ June 12th, 1805.

“ I trouble not myself about politics ; the trade of Manchester is, I am told, at a stand ; a general stoppage of our commerce will be followed by a general bankruptcy ; and bankruptcy by our degradation as a state in Europe. You, Londoners, in the interim, are running mad after shows, and clinging so fast,

some to party and some to power, that you appear inapprehensive of danger.”

“ 1st February, 1806.

“ I am very well pleased with the new arrangements ; but I fear our fate is fixed.”

“ May 7th, 1806.

“ I am very much concerned to hear of Fox’s indisposition ; he is an old statesman and a good Whig ; but unless France is ruined by itself, we cannot entertain much hope of escaping the general subjugation. Whether this *bouleversement* of civil politics, this abandonment of justice, this domination of ambition, is preparatory to a better state of things, to the introduction of a better belief, and a better practice of Christianity, I leave to be discussed by those who are more versed in the interpretation of prophecy than I am ; but the times are very extraordinary.”

“ 11th October, 1806.

“ You know more of political occurrences than I do ; but my opinion concerning the expediency of peace is fixed. We *may* be ruined by it, but we *shall* be ruined without it. Adieu.”

Soon after the return of Mr Pitt to power, an event occurred in which Sir John Sinclair was deeply

interested, from his long cherished friendship towards the individual principally concerned. In April, 1805, Mr Whitbread brought forward his charges against Lord Viscount Melville, then at the head of the Admiralty. A commission had been appointed by the Addington Administration to enquire into the alleged abuses in the naval department ; and a report was given in, impeaching the integrity of Lord Melville, of Mr Trotter, his paymaster, and of other persons employed by them, in pecuniary transactions. Mr Pitt recommended the appointment of a select committee to consider this report ; while the Opposition moved a series of resolutions, at once condemning the first Lord.

On this trying occasion, a number of members, usually supporters of the Government, deserted the unfortunate statesman. The Cabinet was divided. Mr Addington (now Viscount Sidmouth) was decidedly against him. Perhaps Mr Pitt, in his declining health, did not act with his usual energy. Popular feeling was, as usual, violently excited against the accused, by the mere hint of pecuniary malversation. Reasons for enquiry were inconsiderately and uncharitably confounded with substantial grounds of condemnation. Few had better opportunities of knowing thoroughly the character of Lord Melville than Sir John Sinclair. They had lived on terms of friendly intercourse from their first appearance on the political arena, and had been uniformly personal

friends, although alternately opponents and allies. Latterly their opinions had been much at variance ; but my father was shocked at the precipitation and severity of the measures proposed by the party with whom he usually voted. He felt assured, that, if it were consistent with the interests of the service for the whole truth to be known, the innocence of the accused would be satisfactorily established. He conceived that more might be revealed to a select committee than was proper to be publicly divulged ; while, by such a measure, all the legitimate ends of public justice would effectually be secured. Few votes throughout his Parliamentary career afforded him more satisfaction in the retrospect than that which he gave at this memorable juncture. The House was equally divided ; there were two hundred and sixteen members on each side ; and Mr Whitbread's motion was only carried by the casting vote of the Speaker. The anticipations of Sir John, as to the result of an enquiry, were fully realized by the decision of the House of Lords on the impeachment. He felt assured that, when the storm of political animosity should have passed away, posterity would do justice to the character and services of a statesman, whose great abilities had so essentially aided in piloting the vessel of the state amidst difficulties and dangers unparalleled in British history. It was Lord Melville, he was accustomed to say, who prevented the extinction of the East India Company, as an in-

dependent corporation ; who selected its ablest rulers, nearly doubled, in eighteen years, the value of its funds, and consolidated the mighty empire which Warren Hastings had preserved. It was Lord Melville, who, as Secretary at War, diffused a martial spirit over the country, and accumulated a military force sufficient to defy invasion. It was Lord Melville who made those benevolent arrangements in the naval service, which entitled him to the appellation of “ the Seaman’s best friend.” It was the courage and sagacity of this clear-headed Minister, which, in opposition to the feelings of his sovereign, and to the opinions of a large minority in the Cabinet, fitted out the expedition under Abercrombie to Egypt ; thereby leading to the victories of the Nile and Alexandria ; establishing the fame of British valour throughout Europe ; and encouraging other nations to hope for emancipation from the yoke of France.*

Lord Melville was not only a sound statesman, but a powerful orator. A singular testimony to the latter fact is that of the famous Wilkes, so virulent an enemy to Tories and to Scotsmen. Conversing with my father on the prominent peculiarities of the leading

* The expedition was resolved upon in the Cabinet by the smallest possible majority, and the King declared that he consented with the utmost reluctance to a measure which “ periled the flower of his army upon a distant and doubtful expedition.” His Majesty is understood to have afterwards magnanimously complimented Lord Melville on the success of an enterprise which he had himself opposed.

speakers in the House of Commons, "Fox," said he, "has most logic; Burke most fancy; Sheridan most real wit; Pitt excels in command of words and ingenuity of argument; but Dundas, with all the disadvantages of being a Scotsman, is our greatest orator. There is much sound sense, and no rubbish in his speeches."

I am here tempted, before resuming my narrative, to introduce a curious anecdote, in which Lord Melville and my father were concerned, and which the Baronet took peculiar pleasure in relating.—"My friend, Dr Adam Smith," he used to say, "one day invited me to dine with him in the Canongate, and meet Burke and Windham, who were passing through Edinburgh on their way to the Highlands. The conversation turned upon the romantic scenery which the strangers were to visit, and I particularly enlarged upon the views along the road between Dunkeld and Blair, advising them not to remain cooped up in a post-chaise, but to stroll at leisure through the woods.

"Three years afterwards, when I had almost forgotten this advice, Mr Windham came up to me in the House of Commons, and taking me behind the Speaker's chair, enquired, Whether I remembered having advised him, at Adam Smith's, to stroll through the woods between Dunkeld and Blair? He then proceeded—'In consequence of your advice, Burke and I met with an adventure, which has left a strong impression upon my mind. Ten miles from Dunkeld we saw a young female sitting alone under a tree,

with a book in her hand. Burke proposed that we should see what book this solitary damsel was reading. We had a long conversation with her, in which she related to us her whole history, and showed great smartness and ability. She was daughter of a small proprietor, called the Baron Maclaren, had been educated at a boarding-school in Perth, and was reading one of the last novels from the London press. I have not been able to get this mountain nymph out of my head, and I wish you, as soon as possible, to ascertain whether she is single.' I lost no time," continued Sir John, "in writing to the minister of the parish, and was informed, to Mr Windham's great regret, that she was married to a medical gentleman, and had gone to the East Indies.

"Long afterwards, on a visit at Dunira, I repeated this anecdote to Lord Melville. He immediately exclaimed—'I am more interested in that matter than you imagine;' and proceeded to inform me, that in a ride from Blair to Dunkeld, having called for Baron Maclaren, he was surprised by a request from a young and beautiful female (the Baron's daughter), to speak with her alone. As soon as they were out of hearing, she addressed him,—'Mr Dundas, I am told that you are a great man, and what is much better, a very good man, and I will therefore trust you with a secret. There is a young man in this neighbourhood who has a great attachment for me ;

and, to confess the truth, I have no objection to him. He is bred to medicine, and he says, that if he could only get a surgeoncy to the East Indies, he would be sure to make his fortune there, and we should soon be married. You are a great and a good man, Mr Dundas, and if you procure him an appointment, you will find us grateful.' Lord Melville promised, that in case an opportunity occurred, he would not forget her application.

"The same year, on his way to London, he visited an India director. After dinner, this gentleman made some remarks upon the number of applications to which statesmen were continually liable, and offered him the disposal of a surgeoncy to the East Indies. 'The very thing I wanted!' exclaimed Lord Melville, delighted with the opportunity to fulfil his promise to Miss Maclaren."

Notwithstanding the retirement of Lord Melville, Sir John continued a supporter of Mr Pitt. I perceive with satisfaction that those sentiments of esteem and friendship now revived which had united them in early life. On the 10th of April, 1805, my father, having understood that, as soon as the proceedings against Lord Melville were concluded, the Minister intended to withdraw from public life, addressed a letter to him, entreating that he would not desert his King and country at a crisis when they could so ill afford to lose the benefit of his parliamentary abi-

lities and financial knowledge. He remarks, that Mr Pitt should take warning from the impeachment of his old ally, and not depend on hollow friends to defend him against avowed and exasperated enemies. He represents to him the facility with which plausible accusations might be grounded upon the multifarious transactions of a long and arduous administration. He even ventures to illustrate his proposition by referring to particulars which admitted of a malicious and unfair construction. It is remarkable that, among the charges which he mentions as being specious, and yet unquestionably false, I find the very imputations cast upon the Minister by a late popular historian of his own times. Mr Pitt was not offended with this freedom; on the contrary, he showed Sir John repeated marks of confidence and good-will. In May following, he appointed him a Commissioner for superintending the construction of new roads and bridges in the north of Scotland. In August he sent him, through Mr Huskisson, the Secretary to the Treasury, a very cordial message, expressing readiness to bestow upon him a remuneration for his laborious and expensive services to the public. On the 21st of November he made a second communication to the same effect, expressed in still more friendly terms. But the career of this great statesman was now drawing rapidly to a close. The calamities of our allies upon the continent, the increasing opposition which he experien-

ced both in Parliament and in the Cabinet, together with the retirement of the friend who had so long shared with him the burden of the state, were too much for his declining health and shattered constitution. On the 23d of January he expired.

When the physical strength of the Minister became evidently unequal to the discharge of public duty, much conjecture arose as to the formation of a new Government. Lord Moira thus expresses himself:—

“ London, 8th Jan. 1806.

“ My dear Sir John,

“ No news. I shall be with you immediately, though but for a very short time. Pitt is somewhat better ; still it is not thought he is physically able to stand the business in Parliament, and, politically, he is deemed in worse condition. In truth, it is considered all over with the Ministry. Believe me always faithfully yours,

“ MOIRA.”

On the death of Mr Pitt, his adherents, as Lord Moira anticipated, found themselves incapable of carrying on the Government, and were succeeded by an Administration, entitled, “ All the Talents.” Lord Grenville was Premier, Fox Foreign Secretary, and Lord Moira Master-General of the Ordnance. This Ministry was of short continuance. Mr Fox remained

long enough in power to discover the impracticability of peace with an ambitious despot, and to learn, from personal experience, the overwhelming fatigues of office to a broken constitution. He died on the 13th of September, and the Administration did not long survive. A new Ministry was formed, under the Duke of Portland, of which one of the leading members was Mr Perceval, who held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, two years afterwards, that of first Lord of the Treasury. When Mr Pitt, a short time before his death, was asked, "What will become of the country if we lose you? Where shall we find a successor?" He answered, in a single word, "Perceval." To this amiable man, firm patriot, and efficient statesman, my father was warmly attached. In him he found a politician sufficiently intent upon the internal improvement of the country. Their communications with each other form a voluminous body of papers, relating partly to agriculture, and partly to the war in Spain, but chiefly to the great question of finance, which, in 1810-11, agitated the country.

Before proceeding, however, with these political details, I think it right, in this place, to bring forward some occurrences connected with my father's family history and literary labours. Although my father was partial to the system of education in Edinburgh, as combining the advantages of public with

those of private tuition, yet, since he intended his eldest son (now Sir George Sinclair) for political life, he sent him first to the school at Harrow, and afterwards to the University of Göttingen. My brother's residence in Germany led to a very singular adventure, which I may here introduce, as illustrating the character of the great continental conqueror.

In 1806, when Prussia, after witnessing the fall of Austria, ventured, unexpectedly, to resist the aggression of Napoleon, my brother had occasion to make a journey through the seat of war. Accompanied by Mr Regel, a clergyman of Gotha, he set out from that place to Leipsic. The rapid advance of the French army, on the one hand, and the requisitions for horses and carriages by the Prussians on the other, soon reduced the travellers to such difficulties, that they were obliged to leave their carriage, and most of their baggage at Schön Gleina, a country residence of my brother's friend, the Duke of Saxe Gotha. They hired a peasant to convey a few necessaries in a wheelbarrow, while they continued their journey on foot; and in this way they had not proceeded far before they repented of their enterprise. They fell in with a French detachment, and were carried prisoners before Murat, then Grand Duke of Berg, who examined them separately, and with great strictness, though with a polite and even kind attention, such as they did not anticipate. He declared, however, that

he must send them for re-examination to his Majesty the Emperor and King, and for that purpose placed them under the charge of Count Froberg, a Bavarian nobleman, who, fortunately for my brother, had spent some time in England, and was well acquainted with several of his friends. The party accordingly proceeded in the Count's carriage to Auma, the headquarters of Napoleon, where they arrived at a very early hour in the morning. I give the remainder of the adventure in Sir George Sinclair's own words:—
 “The Count alighted from the carriage, and repaired to the house at which the Emperor's headquarters were situated. He returned almost immediately, and informed us that his Majesty had retired to rest; but added, that he would come and let us know as soon as the Emperor was ready to receive us.

“The morning was very cold, and we remained rather uncomfortably in the caleche (the leather in front of which closed but imperfectly) for upwards of an hour. My friend, Mr Regel, and I agreed that we would not prepare any answers to any questions; but that by narrating every circumstance exactly as it occurred, we should avoid every discrepancy which could excite any suspicion. The Count at last returned, and informed us that the Emperor was up, and wished to see us. This was to us an anxious moment: and we descended from the carriage with feelings which I shall not attempt to portray. ‘You need not be

afraid,' said the Count, 'the Emperor won't eat you.' I assured him that I was not afraid of that, and that he, who had nothing to fear, was shivering from the cold as much as I was. This remark, however, made me summon up more resolution than a youth of sixteen might otherwise have felt under such circumstances. I had reminded Mr Regel that it was now my turn to be examined first. We walked hastily across the street, and after ascending a staircase, found ourselves in the antichamber, in which there were a number of officers, and where I observed also some materials for breakfast. The Count opened a door, and beckoned me to follow him. I heard him say, '*Voilà, sire, le jeune Anglais, dont je viens de parler à votre Majesté.*'*" The door closed as soon as I entered the room. I made a low bow, and on raising my eyes from the ground, perceived standing before me a little figure arrayed in a white night-cap and dressing-gown; an officer in uniform, whom I found to be Marshal Berthier, the Minister at War, was standing by his side. The Emperor stood still, with his arms crossed and a cup of coffee in his right hand; he surveyed me attentively, and said, '*Qui êtes vous ?*'† My reply was, '*Sire, je suis sujet de S.*

* Behold, sire, the young Englishman, of whom I have just spoken to your Majesty.

† Who are you ?

M. Britannique.' * 'D'où venez vous ?' † 'Sire, je viens de Gotha en Saxe ; et en me rendant de là à Leipzig, j'ai été arrêté par quelques soldats des avant-postes, qui m'ont mené à Gera chez le Grand Duc de Berg ; et S. A. m'a envoyé ici pour avoir l'honneur d'être examiné par V. M.' ‡ 'Par où êtes vous passé ?' 'Sire, je suis passé par Weimar, Erfurt, et Jena, d'où n'ayant pas pu procurer des chevaux pour nous conduire plus loin que jusqu'à Gleina.' 'Où est Gleina ? et qu'est que c'est ?' 'Gleina, sire, est une petite village appartenante au Duc de Gotha.' ||

"Upon hearing that I had passed through these two places he paused, and then said, 'Tracez-moi le plan de votre route.' § He then sat down at a table, on which a map of Germany was spread, in every respect similar to the one which I had seen at the Grand Duke's. Berthier was seated at a smaller table in the corner of the room, to take notes of what

* Sire, I am a subject of his Britannic Majesty.

† Where do you come from ?

‡ Sire, I came from Gotha, in Saxony ; and in going from thence to Leipzie, I was detained by some soldiers of the advanced guard, who brought me to the house of the Grand Duke of Berg at Gera, and his highness sent me here to have the honour of being examined by your Majesty.

|| Which road did you come by ? Sire, I came by Weimar, Erfurt, and Jena ; from whence not having been able to procure horses to take us further than Gleina. Where is Gleina—and what is it ? Sire, Gleina is a small village belonging to the Duke of Gotha.

§ Trace out the plan of your route.

passed. I stood at Napoleon's left hand, and the Count placed himself exactly opposite. Napoleon, as soon as he had seated himself, placed his right elbow on the table, and leaning his face upon his thumb and forefinger, looked me full in the face, and said, 'Quel jour êtes vous parti de Gotha ?' * At that moment I had forgotten the exact day of our departure, and knowing the great importance of accuracy in regard to dates, I began to calculate backwards from that day to the one upon which we left Gotha. This pause, though but a short one, excited the Emperor's impatience, and he repeated, in rather an angry tone, 'Je vous demande quel jour êtes vous parti de Gotha ?' † His abrupt manner, and a significant look which I saw him exchange with Berthier, would have very much interrupted my calculation, had I not fortunately at that moment concluded it, and named the exact day of our departure. He then looked for Gotha in the map, and asked me a number of questions as to the strength of the Prussians in that place, the reports prevalent in regard to their probable movements, &c. He next sought out Erfurt, and enquired whether I had observed any troops in motion between the two places ? He was very minute in his interrogatories with regard to Erfurt. He asked how strong the garrison was there ? I replied, that this was a point which I had

* On what day did you leave Gotha ?

† I ask you, what day did you leave Gotha ?

not had any opportunity to ascertain. He asked me if I had been at the parade? I replied in the affirmative. ‘How many regiments were present?’ ‘Sire, I cannot tell—the Duke of Brunswick was then at Erfurt, and there seemed to be almost as many officers as soldiers assembled on the parade.’ ‘Is Erfurt a well fortified town?’ ‘Sire, I know very little about the strength of fortifications.’ ‘Y-a-t-il un chateau à Erfurt?’* Upon this point I felt some doubts, but was afraid to plead ignorance again, lest he should imagine that it was feigned. I, therefore, boldly said, ‘Oui, Sire, il y a un chateau.’† After enquiring whether I had made any observations on the road between Erfurt and Weimar, he proceeded to question me minutely as to the state of the latter place—the number of troops quartered there—the destination of the Grand Duke, &c.

“On my mentioning that Jena was the next place at which we stopped, Napoleon did not immediately discover its exact situation on the map. I, therefore, had the honour to point to it with my finger, and show him the place at which he so soon afterwards achieved so brilliant and decisive a victory. He enquired who commanded at Jena—what was the state of the town—whether I knew any particulars about the garrison, &c.; and then made similar enquiries with regard to Gleina, and the intervening road.

* Is there a castle at Erfurt?

† Yes, Sire, there is a castle.

“ Having followed up the investigation until the moment when we were arrested, he paused and looked at me very earnestly. I may here remark, that he put no questions to me in regard to my parentage or situation in life. I presume that these particulars had been fully explained to him by Count Froberg. ‘ Comment ! ’ said he, ‘ voulez vous que je croie tout ce que vous dites ? Les Anglais ne voyagent pas ordinairement à pied sans domestique, et comme cela — (looking at my dress, which consisted of an old box-coat of rough and dark materials, which I had for some time previously only worn as a cover round my legs, when travelling in a carriage, but which I had been glad to resume as an article of dress, over my other clothes, when obliged to travel on foot).* ‘ Il est vrai, Sire,’ I replied, ‘ que cela peut paroître un peu singulier, mais des circonstances impérieuses, et l’impossibilité de trouver des chevaux, nous ont obligés à cette démarche ; d’ailleurs, je crois que j’ai dans ma poche des lettres qui prouveront la vérité de tout ce que j’ai dit au sujet de moi-même.†

“ I then drew out of the pocket of the old box-coat some letters, which had accidentally lain there since

* How, said he, would you have me believe all that you say ? The English do not commonly travel on foot without a servant, and in such a dress.

† It is true, Sire, that such conduct may appear a little singular ; but imperious circumstances, and the impossibility of procuring horses, have obliged us to take this step ; and I believe I have letters in my pocket which will prove the truth of the account I have given of myself.

I received them during the preceding year ; and I also produced from another pocket, some communications of a more recent date. When I laid these upon the table, Napoleon pushed them quickly towards Count Froberg, nodding to him at the same time rapidly with his head. The Count immediately took up the letters, and said to the Emperor, whilst opening them, that, from having examined and conversed with me during our journey, he thought he could be responsible for the truth of every thing I had said.

“ After cursorily glancing through some of the papers, he said, ‘ These letters are of no consequence, and quite of a private nature ; for instance, here is one from Mr Sinclair’s father, in which, after reminding him of the attention he had paid to the Greek and Latin languages in England, he expresses a hope that the same attention will be bestowed upon the acquisition of the French and German abroad.’

“ Napoleon’s features here relaxed into a smile, and I never can forget the kindness with which he eyed me, whilst he said, ‘ Vous avez donc appris le Grec et le Latin ; quels auteurs avez vous lu ?’ *

“ Not a little surprised at this unexpected question, I mentioned Homer, Thucydides, Cicero, and Horace ; upon which he replied, ‘ C’est bien, c’est fort bien ;’ †

* You have then learnt Greek and Latin ; what authors have you studied ?

† That is good, very good.

and then turning to Berthier, he added, '*Je ne crois pas, que ce jeune homme soit espion ; mais l'autre, qui est avec lui, le sera et aura amené ce jeune homme avec lui pour être moins suspect.*'* He then made a slight inclination of the head, as a signal for me to retire ; upon which I bowed profoundly, and passed into the antichamber ; after which Mr Regel was introduced.

" This was the first and last occasion on which I ever beheld Napoleon. The expression of his countenance remains indelibly present to my mind ; it was at that time thin and sallow ; but every feature beamed with intelligence. I was more particularly struck with the penetrating glance of his eye, which seemed, if I may so express myself, to anticipate the answer to every question, by reading it intuitively in the soul. His manner was at first somewhat repulsive and abrupt, but became gradually softer, and in the end quite prepossessing. There were several words which I felt some difficulty to express in French ; amongst which, I remember, were '*baggage-waggons,*' and '*wheelbarrow.*' He himself, however, immediately suggested the appropriate terms ; and it appeared to me that nothing could surpass the lucid and comprehensive nature of all his questions

* I do not think this young man is a spy, but the other who is with him is probably one, and has brought this young man to avoid suspicion.

and remarks. He omitted nothing that was necessary, and asked nothing that was superfluous. I entered his apartment under the impression that I was allowed to appear before the greatest man of the age. My prejudices against him, I must admit, were very strong. I considered him as the implacable enemy of my country, and the restless subjugator of Europe; but I could not quit his presence without admiring the acuteness of his intellect, and feeling the fascination of his smile.

“As soon as Mr Regel's examination was over, Napoleon said to Count Froberg, ‘Retenez les quelques jours, jusqu'à ce que quelque chose de décisif sera arrivé; et puis renvoyez-les.’”*

The battle of Jena was an event sufficiently decisive to entitle the travellers to their liberty. The French commandant at Gera, on giving them their passports, observed, with a laugh, that he believed they could not now do any harm, if they were ever so willing. My brother proceeded afterwards to Vienna, where he remained some time.

Among the literary undertakings of Sir John Sinclair, the most laborious, perhaps, was the execution of several works, composed on a plan entirely his own, to which he gave the name of the *Codean System*. The object of his system was the condensation

* Detain them for some days till something decisive has happened, and then dismiss them.

of human knowledge. Knowledge, he used to say, scattered promiscuously through a multitude of books, resembles ore in a mine; but knowledge collected, arranged, and condensed, is like the pure metal separated from its dross—substantial, portable, accessible, and useful. The condensation of knowledge, he observed, was the purpose of *Encyclopædias*; but such works were in general so bulky and expensive, that the majority of the reading public had neither funds to purchase, nor leisure to peruse them. Science was progressive; yet, in the case of an *Encyclopædia*, new discoveries have either to be communicated by supplements, a troublesome and defective method, or, after a long interval, incorporated with the text in new editions. Nor was this all—for articles upon the most important subjects were in general contributed by individuals, and rested upon the sole responsibility of each contributor; whereas his plan for the compilation of a code was to print rough sketches of each chapter, and afterwards submit them to the notice of the most profound investigators of the subject, whether in this country or abroad, for remarks, amendments, or additions. He hoped by such revision to render each code a complete compendium of the leading facts and principles included in some one department of human knowledge. He intended also to repeat this laborious process in the case of every consecutive edition; hoping that, by such means, his

work would keep pace with the progress of the sciences, and remain a cheap, correct, and convenient book of reference to the student and man of letters. The word Code, to some persons, suggests the idea of inherent and indisputable authority ; but the sense in which he employed the term was simply that of a digest or compilation ; and though he designated his plan a system of codes, he intended merely to complete, with his own hand, works upon the four great subjects of Health, Agriculture, Political Economy, and Religion. I shall here give a short account of the two former of these digests, reserving, for another place, any reference to the two latter, which he left unfinished.*

* The general advantages of the Codean System are well expressed in the subjoined extract of a communication to Sir John from Mr Attwood of Birmingham : “ In the more early ages of society, while knowledge was less multitudinous in its various channels, it might be easy for a man of tolerable application to make himself acquainted with it, upon any given subject. But now, works upon every branch of knowledge are so exceedingly numerous, and so great a proportion of almost every work becomes antiquated by the progress of things, that it is really an Herculean task to search, read, study, and discriminate them all. The ‘*rari nantes in gurgite vasto*,’—the few scattered truths which have resisted so many storms in the ocean of time, and which even seem to derive strength from the assaults which have shattered the fabrics of error,—all these valuable relics of the days gone by, ought certainly to be collected and preserved as the inestimable guides of life. To extract, condense, and exhibit these truths, which the progress of

Sir John Sinclair's attention had been first directed to the subject of Health and Longevity about the year 1802, when his constitution began to give way under severe and long-continued mental application. At that time he published the result of his enquiries in a short Essay, in which the chief preservatives and restoratives of health are separately discussed ; and some rules laid down for the attainment of old age. He resolved afterwards to make fresh researches, and expand his views into a general treatise. When he first communicated this intention to his literary friends, they earnestly dissuaded him from the attempt, both because his mind would of necessity be withdrawn from occupations, more likely, as they conceived, to be useful ; and because a regularly educated physician could alone, in their opinion, possess an adequate knowledge of the animal economy. " I lament," says Arthur Young, " any thing you undertake out of Agriculture and Finance. The things, and of the human mind, elicits, is the grand object of ' The Codean System of Knowledge.' "

Another author (Mr Mill, in the preface to his History of India), has ably remarked, " That as no fact is more certain, so none is of more importance, in the science of human nature, than this, that the powers of observation, in every individual, are exceedingly limited ; and that it is only by combining the observations of a number of individuals (or, in other words, forming Codes regarding each important branch of science), that a competent knowledge of any extensive subject can ever be acquired."

efforts of such a mind, diligent and penetrating, keen and indefatigable, would on one subject carry you a great length, but the physicians will not permit a man of fashion or a farmer to poach with impunity in their manor. They will strangle your book if they can.”*

A similar caution, though not precisely on the same grounds, is from the pen of Bishop Watson.—“I cannot but admire both the activity of your genius and the versatility of your talents; take care, however, that you do not injure your own health; the desire of fame is as dangerous to a literary man as that of martial celebrity is to a soldier.”†

Other friends, however, both at home and on the continent, encouraged him to persevere. Baron Edlerantz, of Sweden, remarked to him, that the “art of preserving health and giving longevity to man formed a link in that chain of useful pursuits to which Sir John had devoted all his time.” He was himself persuaded that, even without a scientific knowledge of anatomy and physiology, many valuable rules might be deduced from extensive enquiries and judicious personal observations. He remarked that the operation of different medicines is not discovered by *à priori* reasonings, but by that kind of experimental induction which Lord Bacon, its great promoter, has justly called the test of truth and the rule of utility; that the

* Letter, dated 26th February, 1805.

† Letter, dated 11th October, 1806.

properties of the substances most useful in medicine have been usually discovered by accident, rather than anticipated by science; and, moreover, that useful practices and modes of cure may be long employed in certain districts, or by private individuals, without becoming known to the public at large, or receiving due consideration from systematic practitioners. He was persuaded that, by a diligent perusal of works already published on the subject of health, as well as by extensive correspondence with intelligent individuals, whose advanced age, or attention to the peculiarities of their own constitution, gave great weight to their opinion, he might raise a pyramid of materials, out of which, when submitted to the revision of eminent physiologists, a treatise might be constructed, free from the technicalities of science, and yet not only intelligible to the general reader, but useful to the Faculty. My father also thought that the attention of physicians was oftener occupied with the means of curing disease than of preserving health. The fact was admitted in a very candid letter of Dr Beddoes.—“ I doubt whether they” (physicians) “ possess any great fund of peculiar information concerning the effect of the circumstances in which men are placed upon their health. Indeed, it has never been accurately studied by medical men, because it was not an obvious source of profit; nor by others, on account of the profound ignorance concerning ourselves in which we are all brought up.”

Sir John's first step was to collect a medical library, including all the most celebrated works, from Galen and Hippocrates, down to Buehan and Arbuthnot; from the bulky tomes of Hoffmann, down to pamphlets and popular treatises. He then began a correspondence, which ultimately became so voluminous, that a selection from the replies to his queries, together with hints, suggestions, and emendations, can with difficulty be included in a large chest. Nothing can exceed the variety both of the materials and of the contributors. There are communications from all quarters of the world; from China, from North and South America, from the Barbary States, from the East and West Indies, from Persia, and from every part of the European continent. These documents relate, immediately or remotely, to all the functions of the human body; to all diseases, real or imaginary; to all remedies; to all the infinitely varied peculiarities of individual constitutions; to all varieties of diet, animal, vegetable, and mineral; to all modes of discipline and exercise, bathing, walking, riding, dancing, gymnastics, and calisthenics; and to the effects of different soils and climates. Curious instances of longevity are copiously described, including persons who were understood to have reached 164, 172, and even 185 years of age, together with the probable means by which the vital energy had been so long preserved. The collection teems also

with accounts of local practices, and with traditional anecdotes. Translations are added from foreign writers ; choice extracts from the classics ; and, finally, a collection of medical proverbs in various languages, particularly some pithy maxims, both in prose and verse, from the Gaelic and Italian.

The writers are as various as the subjects. Valuable suggestions occur from eminent physicians and surgeons ; from Dr Jenner, Dr Baillie, Dr Monro, Dr Gregory, Sir Walter Farquhar, Sir David Dundas, Sir Gilbert Blane, Dr Parry of Bath, Dr Duncan, Dr Currie, Dr Trotter, Dr Willan, Dr Buchan, and Dr Beddoes. My list of authorities, besides physicians and surgeons, includes oculists, dentists, aurists, apothecaries, and chiropodists. Clergymen detail the habits of their parishioners ; foreign ministers and consuls the diseases of their respective countries ; staff-officers the state of health among the troops in our colonial establishments ; and even pugilists and trainers, Jackson, for example, Hall of Beverley, Robson, Thomas Scott, Angelo, Holcroft, and Arnall, describe at large the several processes by which they prepared themselves and their pupils for their respective exhibitions. Such a voluminous correspondence promised great results ; and I find Dr Baillie anticipating, with much good-humoured satisfaction, the amount of knowledge which the author would be the means of eliciting. “ The public,” says

he, " will be gratified when your work upon health and longevity comes out ; as it will comprehend every thing which is known upon this important subject."*

The Code of Health appeared originally in four thick octavo volumes. The first of them contains the author's own opinions on dietetics and therapeutics. He begins by an explanation of the circumstances which necessarily tend to promote health and longevity, independent of individual management, or the observance of particular rules. Under this head are discussed the effects of parentage, growth, and natural constitution, of the faculties and passions, of situation, of soil and climate, of rank, education, and employment. The writer next lays down rules for preserving health and promoting longevity. This part includes the subject of air, food, digestion, exercise, sleep, clothing, amusements, habitation, medicine, together with temper, habits, cleanliness, bathing, accidents, and travelling, or change of residence. In the concluding part, the author suggests regulations for the health of the community, under nine heads, such as, for example, police of diet, police for the health of sailors or soldiers, police of medicine, police of public institutions.

In the second volume, Sir John traces the history of medicine by means of numerous writers, from the earliest ages, to the times of Hippocrates ; and ha-

* Letter, dated November, 1805.

ving explained the sentiments of that prince of physicians, he unfolds the maxims of Polybius, of Celsus, of Galen, and of inferior Greek authors, from Diocles Carystius, down to Actuarius. He then proceeds to Jews and Arabians, such as Rhases and Avicenna. He next lays under contribution, in behalf of medical science, the works of Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and Lucian. In the third volume he passes to the moderns, giving abstracts of the rules laid down by Salerne, Cornaro, Sanctorius, Kant, Hallè, and many others. The fourth volume contains rules deduced from English writers; from Roger Bacon, from Lord Bacon, from Temple, Boyle, and Heberden; from Mead, Rush, and Waterhouse. There is also an Appendix, containing a variety of useful and very curious particulars. The author finally gives a catalogue of his medical authorities, far larger than had ever before appeared; so large, indeed, as to excite the astonishment of a learned foreign critic, who observes, that Sir John Sinclair's catalogue is incomparably more extensive than those which had been published by Haller and Professor Ploucquet, of Tübingen.* This prodigious catalogue contains the names of 1566 works, in foreign languages, on different branches of medicine and surgery, besides 312 in English. Mackenzie, in his *History of Health*, had contented himself with sixteen British authorities; while Haller and

* See *Biblioth. Brit.* tom. xlv. Ann. 1810.

Ploucquet had been able to produce no more than sixty-two.

The anticipations of Arthur Young as to the severity of criticism to be apprehended by an agriculturist and a financier trespassing on the peculiar and jealously guarded province of the faculty, were fully realized. Magazines and reviews, both medical and literary, simultaneously attacked the Code of Health. The most trifling errors or discrepancies were magnified into serious faults or gross contradictions; and recipes, not known by the reviewer to have proceeded from the most eminent practitioners, were eagerly made the subject of misplaced, though brilliant jocularity. Criticisms came forth more creditable to the humour and sarcastic power than to the good sense or solid information of the critics. No doubt, some of the materials in the Code were superfluous, and some unsatisfactorily arranged; the rules also in some cases were fanciful or minute; but the public appreciated the substantial value of the work. The first edition was sold within a fortnight. The author, moreover, had the satisfaction of receiving, from competent authorities, Dr Matthew Baillie, Dr Beddoes, Dr Currie, and many others, the assurance that his work was interesting, perspicuous, and instructive. Various individuals, also, of penetration and intelligence, gratefully related to him the benefit they had derived from following his directions. One intelligent correspondent assured him that he made a practice of

reading the book once every year ; several enlarged upon the benefit they had been enabled to confer upon their neighbours in consequence of the knowledge they had acquired from his work ; others expatiated on the state of corpulence, nervousness, and misery from which, by following his rules, they had been gradually delivered.

No reader of his Code attended more scrupulously to the regulations which it prescribed than the author himself ; none derived from it more substantial benefit. His health was re-established, and continued unimpaired till he had passed the ordinary term of human life.

In foreign countries the Code was received with still more favour than at home. Portions of it were introduced into eighteen successive numbers of the *Bibliothèque Britannique*, with remarks complimentary to the industry and talent of the author. Dr Sprengel, one of the most eminent physicians in Germany, translated into his own language all the original materials of the work. In his preface to this edition, after alluding to a treatise by Hufeland on the same subject, the translator says, “ In the work of the Scottish author many subjects are considered in a novel point of view, many new and remarkable facts are introduced, and an anxiety to attain completeness is perceived. To this may be added, an advantage peculiar to British authors, that of perspicuity, and exemption from the language of the schools.

On the whole, the author has communicated the most important results which reason, experience, and reading had taught him regarding the effects of external substances upon health." The learned Foderé drew many of the facts and arguments in his treatise on the improvement and sanification of countries from the authority of Sir John Sinclair. A translation also into French was executed by Dr Odier, an able Swiss physician, who described the work as likely to prove highly useful to the science of medicine. The celebrated Dr Hallé had resolved to superintend the publication of another French version, but was prevented by his untimely death.

Sir John lived to publish five editions of the Code. In the latter impressions, all the quotations from ancient and modern authors were omitted, which had increased the bulk without increasing proportionably the value of the performance. The last edition printed, 1833, was very carefully and effectually revised. In a review of this edition, a well-informed critic observes, that "the fact of the work being a compilation by one not belonging to the profession, certainly operated unfavourably against it." * He remarks, however, that professional readers had at length discovered the value of the materials in the Code; that not only he himself had repeatedly derived useful information from it, but that to his knowledge

* Edinburgh Medical Journal, 1834.

many of his professional friends had found it equally valuable.

Among the most convincing testimonies to the value of the Code of Health and Longevity, is the continual use which has been made of it by later writers, both professional and unprofessional, on dietetics and nosology. Not only has it been often quoted by name, but still more frequently its contents have been adopted by the most distinguished medical authors without acknowledgment. The author rejoiced, however, that good was done by the diffusion of the knowledge he had so laboriously accumulated, although little could be said to excuse the meanness and unfairness of the plagiarists. Several recent popular publications on dietetics contain whole pages transcribed, though not quoted, from the Code of Health.

To this account of the Code of Health, I may subjoin a few selections from the author's correspondence in reference to that work. The two last, from the Master of the Rolls, and from the historian of the Roman Republic, express emphatically the feelings of that extreme old age, when the most vigorous mind, pressed down by the infirmities of the body, becomes incapable of exertion, and passively yields itself to recollections of the past, or anticipations of the future.

“ I have just been perusing your Code of Health”
(says Sir Humphrey Davy), “ from which I have

received much pleasure and information. The work cannot fail to be a public benefit, for no species of composition is more impressive than that in which maxims are illustrated by facts."

The celebrated Robert Hall of Leicester thus acknowledges a copy of the Code presented to him by the author :

" Bristol, 3d Oct. 1828.

" Dear and honoured Sir,

" I feel myself very much honoured by the interest you have been pleased to manifest in the state of my health, and more especially for the kind present of your most valuable book. I have not yet had time to read it through ; but have seen enough of it to convince me that it is the most judicious and comprehensive digest of whatever relates to the subject of health that the world has been favoured with. I shall peruse it frequently and carefully, and endeavour to derive from it all the benefit I can.

" That your life may be prolonged yet to a distant period, and that after serving your generation according to the will of God, you may be gathered in, as a shock of corn fully ripe, is the sincere prayer of your highly obliged friend and humble servant,

" ROBERT HALL."

The following letter is from the pen of the Rev.

Andrew Thomson of Edinburgh, one of the most shrewd and sagacious characters of his day :

“ 29, Melville Street, March 7.

“ Dear Sir John,

“ Accept of my best thanks for the copy which you have been so kind as to send me of your valuable work on Health and Longevity. When I first looked into it, and that was many years ago, I found it both instructive and entertaining. And now that I am more frequently an invalid than I used to be, and nearly half a century old, I intend to renew my acquaintance with it, and derive from its pages as much as I can, both of the *utile* and the *dulce*. I am, dear Sir John, yours faithfully,

“ ANDREW THOMSON.”

Lord Chancellor Eldon to Sir John Sinclair.

“ Dear Sir John,

“ I thank you for your letter and communications. The loss of Lord Redesdale is irreparable. What I can do in Scotch appeals, and with respect to Scotch entails, I will endeavour to do. I observe that you think you have adopted a plan at 76 to prolong life some years, and the plan reads well. In my 79th year I should be glad to take advantage of it, but how can I, my dear sir, if I am to be all the morning in the House of Lords, engaged in Scotch ap-

peals and entails, and all the night in politics? Yours
most sincerely,

“ ELDON.”

“ Feb. 5, 1830.”

Sir William Grant to Sir John Sinclair.

“ Dawlish, 27th Feb. 1830.

“ My dear Sir,

“ Allow me to thank you for your kind communication of the 8th inst., to which I might somewhat sooner have *scrawled* an answer, but am hardly now able to *write* one. My fingers have never perfectly recovered from the paralytic attack which I endured last autumn, and our unusually severe winter super-induced rheumatism in my arm, from which the present mild weather is only now beginning to relieve me. The rules you have been so good as to send me appear to be very rational, though some of them are not applicable to my situation. My *business* lies within a very narrow compass, and my *reading* has now no pretension to the name of *study*. Literary leisure is my portion; literary occupation is yours. Though I read a good deal, it is almost wholly for my own amusement. Your reading has the further and more important object of contributing to the instruction of others. I sincerely wish you health and strength to complete your useful labours.

“ Though much gratified by your intended mention of my exertions on your election committee, I could

wish it had not conveyed some reflection on my co-adjutor, though I do not at present recollect who he was. Believe me to be, my dear Sir John, very sincerely yours,

“ W. GRANT.”

Dr Adam Ferguson to Sir John Sinclair.

“ Hallyards, near Peebles, 12th Jan. 1808.

“ My dear Sir,

“ You see I am not slow in availing myself of your permission ; you take trouble with so good a grace, that I cannot be sorry in giving it. If I had made any discoveries in the preservation of health, you should certainly hear of them. I remember, many years ago, when Professor Muirhead of Glasgow complained of his health, his physician, over a bottle, advised him to burn all the folios in the College library and he would soon be well. This prescription is not necessary now to me, for my sight is so impaired, that I may safely say I have not opened a book for a twelvemonth back, and folios are as innocent as 12mos. I had raised a great battery of spectacles, but in vain ; my defect is in the nerves, or the retina, not in the refracting humours of the eye. Reading and writing are supposed companions, but not so with me. If this can be called writing, it is not attended with reading, at least by me, for I can read none of it. I endeavour to have ink in the pen,

and guide it on the white paper without seeing what I write. Forgive defects, and believe me to be, my dear sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

“ADAM FERGUSON.”

It is but justice to my father's memory to record, in this place, that his desire to prevent or alleviate the diseases of his fellow-creatures was not confined to the exercise of his literary abilities. In this, as in other instances, he showed willingness to exert his personal influence for the benefit of others. He was among the earliest patrons of the illustrious Jenner, and zealously endeavoured, first to diffuse a knowledge of his great discovery, and afterwards to procure for him a suitable reward. On the establishment of a society to promote the practice of Vaccination, Sir John was, with one exception, the only member of either House of Parliament who joined the institution; and when the question of bestowing a parliamentary recompense upon the Doctor was under discussion, he strenuously supported the larger sum. “I would have moved,” he said, “for doubling the amount, had I seen the smallest prospect of success.”

As another evidence of my father's usefulness in the medical department, I may mention his exertions in 1806 for the establishment of a Lunatic Asylum near Edinburgh. Some parochial, as well as private receptacles for the insane, had long existed in that neighbourhood, but these were all upon a small scale,

and, to the disgrace of the Scottish metropolis, no public institution had been formed exclusively for the cure and treatment of lunatic patients. From the year 1792, attempts had been made to supply this deficiency by subscription ; but although the Town Council, the College of Physicians, and other public bodies, promoted the undertaking, the funds collected were utterly inadequate. The scheme languished during fourteen years, when a new impulse was given to it by Sir John Sinclair, who, as chairman of a committee of the House of Commons, recommended a public grant in aid of the undertaking, to the extent of L.2000. He was seconded by the Hon. Henry Erskine, then Lord Advocate of Scotland ; the grant was obtained, a new subscription raised, and an asylum on a respectable footing, and under able management, permanently established. I have now beside me, on my table, an unanimous vote of thanks to Sir John from the Directors for his philanthropic exertions. I find, also, from the last report of the treasurer, that my father followed up this service by recommending a subscription in the East Indies, which brought L.1700 to the funds of the Institution.

My father's second code was not published for some years ; but I may mention it here in connexion with his Codean System, as it is the only remaining part he lived to complete. I have already, in a chapter on the Board of Agriculture, given an account, at some length, of his exertions for the advancement of

British husbandry, bringing together into one view, for the sake of unity, the greater portion of his private, as well as official labours. The Code of Agriculture, now to be considered, was published long after he had resigned the Presidency of the Board.

In the introduction to this volume, he remarks upon the rude and imperfect state of husbandry in former times ; when its processes, handed down by tradition from the darkest ages, were carried on mechanically, and could not be explained on any rational or intelligible principles. But by the labours of the Board, of which it was his happiness to be the founder, so many well-informed individuals had made known the results of their experience, and such a body of information had been collected, that the time was come when a digest, explaining both the principles and the practices of the art, might be successfully attempted. Of such a work, Sir John Sinclair, from his experience as an agriculturist, and his extensive acquaintance among farmers in every district of the kingdom, was peculiarly called upon to be the author.

To arrange the subject into the most practical form, he supposes himself instructing a novice in agriculture, who is engaged in the selection of a farm, and he describes, first of all, the *preliminary points* to be considered, as climate, soil, subsoil, tenure, rents, burdens, size, &c. Next, he explains the *means* by which the farmer is to ensure *success*, and treats of capital, regular accounts, arrangement of agricultural

labour, live stock, buildings, division of fields, farm roads, &c. His third point has reference to the various modes of *improving* land, [enclosures, drains, manures, fallows, embankments, &c. Then follow remarks upon the different modes of *occupying* land, and discussions respecting arable culture, grass, gardens, orchards, woods, and plantations. In conclusion, he offers some suggestions for the general improvement of a country, whether by removing obstacles, by giving positive encouragement, or by diffusing valuable information. The multitudinous facts, comprehended under these various heads, are corroborated by above 1500 references to authorities in the notes.

The Code soon became popular in England, and has gone through five large editions since its publication in 1817. It has also been republished and widely circulated in America. "Your Code," says a respectable agriculturist in that country,* "is in the hands of every intelligent farmer in the United States; and has excited a degree of attention to that useful science never felt by us before." The book was also translated by order of the Austrian and of the Danish Governments into their respective languages. In France, the translator was M. de Dombasle, President of the Central Society of Agriculture at Nancy, one of the most eminent agriculturists

* Letter from Robert Patterson, Esq., June 23, 1820.

of France. In his letter to Sir John, announcing the progress of his labours, M. de Dombasle says, "I have been occupied, sir, for some time in translating your very excellent 'Code of Agriculture.' If any thing can contribute to raise agriculture in France to the rank of a science, a rank which it could not hitherto pretend to, it will certainly be the publication of this work, which is at once the most systematic, the most concise, and in my opinion the most perfect, that has hitherto been written in any language." *

Having so often quoted Arthur Young in approbation of my father's labours, I shall in this instance refer to another very competent authority, that gentleman's successor as Secretary to the Board. "I have already read," says Mr Webbe Hall, "and shall again go over your most comprehensive work with renewed pleasure and improvement; and if any further observations occur to me, I shall not fail to state them to you; although I think, that in its present state, we may fairly call it as perfect and comprehensive as human industry and talent (which we know at their best estate must be imperfect) will

* "Depuis quelque tems je m'occupe, Monsieur, de traduire en Français votre excellentissime *Code d'Agriculture*. Si quelque chose peut contribuer à élever en France l'agriculture au rang de *Science*, pretention que nous ne pouvons avoir jusqu'ici, ce sera sans doute la publication de cet ouvrage, le plus dogmatique, le plus concise, et, à mon avis, le plus parfait, qui ait encore été écrit dans quelque langue que ce soit."

admit. That you may long live to enjoy the renown which your fairly-earned fame in the agricultural world has procured, is my sincerest wish ; and when you leave these works behind you, depend upon it, posterity will do ample justice to your most indefatigable labours on this head."

The leading patrons of agriculture in England evinced their warm approbation of the Code, by contributing to make the work as complete a summary as possible of agricultural knowledge. The Duke of Bedford circulated several copies of the second edition among the most intelligent farmers on his estates for remarks, additions, and emendations ; and by the following letter, from Mr Blaikie of Holkham, it appears that Mr Coke of Norfolk had adopted the same measure, besides communicating suggestions of his own :—

" I received directions from Mr Coke, a fortnight ago, to procure copies of the second edition of the Code of Agriculture, to be sent, in his name, to such farmers in this district as I thought most likely to devote time for the perusal, and most capable of commenting upon the work. I am now on the point of circulating the work in this neighbourhood, and I have no doubt shall be able to obtain some valuable information. Mr Coke (who is now upon a tour in the midland counties) has taken one copy of the work with him, for the express purpose of noting

down his remarks, as he can spare time to look into the work,—and he highly approves of the idea of the second edition being generally circulated, with a view to making the third edition as perfect as possible ;—in as far as our present knowledge extends.”

On presenting a copy of this work to the Prince Regent, Sir John Sinclair received, through Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, an answer from his Royal Highness, testifying the “satisfaction, which the Prince derived both from the success of Sir John’s persevering efforts in the great field of agriculture, and from the high renown that crowned his persevering labours.”

In the year 1805, a circumstance occurred remarkably illustrating the zeal with which the subject of these memoirs espoused the cause of his friends ; the sacrifices he was prepared to make for them ; and the unforeseen yet powerful influence of even the minutest circumstances over the fortunes of mankind. I refer to the great Roxburghe cause, which, by the merest accident, attracted my father’s notice ; occupied the greater portion of his time and attention during seven years ; and ended in the advancement of a friend to the dignity of a dukedom, and to the possession of an estate producing above L.50,000 a-year.

Walking one day in Salisbury’s Botanical Gardens, he happened to meet his old and intimate acquaint-

tance, Sir James Norcliffe Innes.* In the course of conversation this gentleman informed him, that he believed himself to have some pretensions to the title and estates of Roxburghe, in case the Duke, at that time aged and infirm, should die without heirs-male. Being asked the grounds of his pretension, Sir James could not explain them, but was prevailed upon to state the circumstances in writing, that Sir John, who was setting out for Edinburgh, might submit the case to counsel.

My father communicated the statement to his confidential agent, Mr James Horne, a gentleman of much experience and acuteness, and of indefatigable industry. The particulars are so curious, as well as complicated, that I take leave to trace them from the beginning. Robert, first Earl of Roxburghe, obtained the patent of that earldom in 1616, with remainder to his heirs-male, a phrase which, in Scottish law, includes collaterals; but, though he had issue by two marriages, only one son, Harry Lord Kerr, attained to manhood. This young nobleman, in February, 1643, (to use the words of a cotemporary chronicler), “depaired this life after an great drink.” He left three daughters, but no son. The old Earl now became anxious to change the order of succession, and to make the male issue of these, his three granddaugh-

* Among my father's private memoranda is a long paper entitled, “An Account of Sir John Sinclair's Connexion with the Roxburghe Cause.”

ters, precede the distant heirs-male, who, by the existing patent, would be entitled to the earldom. Having great influence with Charles I., he surrendered his earldom in July, 1643, and obtained a new charter, conveying to him a power, of which heraldry presents few examples, that of making "his heirs of entail Earls in all time to come." Before he had exercised this almost royal prerogative, a chance appeared of male posterity by his own body, of which he hastened to avail himself. In October of that year, his second wife died, upon which, without loss of time, being then seventy-three, he took for his third wife a daughter of the Earl of Morton; by whom, however, he had no issue. In 1648, when this last hope of a son was at an end, he finally executed, with renewed powers, granted in 1646, his original plan of nominating his successors.

This settlement is a complete genealogical curiosity; it was ratified by the Parliament of Scotland after the surrender of Charles I. to the Scottish auxiliary army, and immediately before the subjugation of Scotland by Cromwell; it had the dukedom of 1707 absolutely attached to the series of heirs which it appoints; and its provisions are themselves singularly arbitrary and capricious. Desirous to have as much as possible of his own blood in his successors, he resolved that both the Earl and Countess of Roxburghe should be his own descendants. With this view he required that Jean, eldest daughter of Harry, Lord

Ker, should be married to her cousin, the Honourable William Drummond, youngest son of the Earl of Perth, the only grandson by his eldest daughter whose age was not totally unsuitable. Should the parties fail to execute the condition, the defaulter was to be the sufferer, and the other was to have a remedy. In case the gentleman did not offer himself to the lady, she might accept another of her cousins, one of the three sons of the Earl of Wigton, who was, in consequence, to obtain the Roxburghe title and estates. In case the lady refused the gentleman, he was to marry her younger sister, who would then become the heiress. It is a singular circumstance in heraldry, that young Drummond, on the death of his grandfather in 1650, took the title of Roxburghe, though his intended bride was so young that the marriage did not take place for five years, when she could only be seventeen. He thus appears to have been only, as it were, an Earl by hypothesis. The marriage, however, was consummated, and the male posterity of William Drummond and Jean Ker continued Earls, and then Dukes of Roxburghe, till the year 1805, when, on the death of William, the fourth Duke, they became extinct.

A variety of claimants now came forward, all anxiously anticipating a dukedom, a splendid park and mansion-house, with 70,000 acres of land in one of the richest districts of Scotland. Sir James Norcliffe Innes claimed as heir-male to the only daughter of

Harry, Lord Ker, who now had male descendants. Lady Essex and Lady Mary Ker insisted that they were heirs-of-line, or heirs-general to their brother, the third Duke, and consequently to Jean, eldest daughter of Harry, Lord Ker. Sir William Drummond of Logiealmond urged that he was heir-male to the elder brother of William [Drummond] Ker, second Earl of Roxburghe, and through him, a descendant also of the first Earl, though not by Harry, Lord Ker. General Ker alleged that he was nearest collateral heir-male of the first Earl, whose heirs-male whatsoever were called to the succession, in case the issue-male of Harry Lord Ker's eldest daughter failed; and, no doubt, to her posterity the succession seems to be limited, by the final and regulating clause. His claims of blood were somewhat far-fetched, for he was in the twenty-second degree of consanguinity to the third Duke,* since both the Duke and the General were in the eleventh descent from two brothers, who lived three centuries and a half before.

Another circumstance added to the difficulties of

* It is understood that this third Duke was to have been married to a Princess of Mecklenburg Strelitz, but that their nuptials were prevented by the marriage of her sister to the King of Great Britain. His Grace remained a bachelor all his life, and was highly esteemed at court, in proof of which it may be mentioned that George III. gave him both the Garter and the Thistle, a union of honour of which there is but but one example in the Duke of Hamilton, killed in the celebrated duel with Lord Mahon.

this perplexing litigation ;—there was a clause in the entail, empowering the heir in possession to grant *feus*—that is, perpetual leases—of such parts and portions of the estate as he might think fitting. By a strange abuse of this power, which was granted for the benefit of the heir, the last Duke, though he was only in possession of the estate about a year and a half, being seventy-six when he succeeded, executed fourteen deeds, granting, at a low rent, to his friend and relation, Mr Bellenden Ker, *feus* to the extent of 69,955 acres, as the parts and portions of the estate which he thought fitting, while he reserved only the mansion-house and forty-five acres to the heir of entail. His Grace, at the same time, in case he should himself prove to be the last heir of entail, appointed him successor to the whole estate.

Appearances were at first by no means favourable to the pretensions of Sir James Norcliffe Innes. Not only was the case obscure and complicated in itself, but a casual circumstance had nearly hid from him the only ground on which his claims could safely rest. It happened that a law-suit was in progress for recording the Roxburghe entail, and that in the papers printed on that occasion, an error was committed by the clerk in copying the deed. He had imagined the contraction *yr* to mean *her*, instead of *their*, and had written *her*, instead of *their* heirs-male ; a difference of the last importance to Sir J. N. Innes, as the word *her* would have referred exclusively to the eldest

daughter of Harry, Lord Ker, whereas the word *their* included the younger daughters, from one of whom he was descended. Happily, Mr Horne would not be satisfied without inspecting the original, where he found the reading so essential to the interests of his client.

Encouraged by this discovery, my father strongly advised Sir James to prosecute his claims, offering him at the same time every assistance. The first point was to obtain possession of the property and mansion-house immediately on the Duke's death—an event evidently not far distant. My father, therefore, urged Sir James to provide for this emergency by appointing Mr Horne, as his commissioner, to take without delay the necessary steps in his behalf. When the Duke died, Mr Horne's activity anticipated the other candidates—a circumstance necessary to the prosecution of the claim—as it would have been imprudent to carry on the action had the rents and title-deeds of the estate been in the hands of a rival claimant; and even if Sir James had been successful, the proceeds in the mean while might have been lost.

Notwithstanding this success at the commencement of the suit, the difficulties to be surmounted were most disheartening. The opinions given by counsel continued to be less favourable than had been expected. The number of actions necessary to be raised was so great, and the expense of each so burdensome, that Sir James's funds were soon ex-

hausted. He applied for aid to his own relatives, the Duke of Gordon and the Earl of Moray, but these opulent noblemen had so little expectation of his ultimate success, that they refused to grant him any advances. Sir John, however, generously came forward, and on his security the sum of L.14,000 was raised. Without this timely interposition, the law-suit must have been abandoned. But it never was impeded for a single moment by want of funds. My father also insisted that his friend should not contract his personal expenses, when the latter had resolved to give up his equipage, and retire into obscurity till the question was decided. During a long and harassing litigation of seven years, while my father, having risked so large a sum in the cause, suffered much anxiety on his own account, he exerted himself to keep up the spirit of the desponding litigant, whose impatience gave him much uneasiness. "I wish, with all my heart," Sir James would say, "that I had never stirred in this business. It would have been better for me, at my time of life, to remain quietly in Devonshire.* I never shall see the end of this weary law-suit. I only wish I never had begun it."

The most critical moment occurred after the greatest dangers appeared to have been over. The Court of Session had decided in favour of Sir James, and a

* He was then upwards of seventy.

decree was expected from Lord Chancellor Eldon, confirming their decision on an appeal to the House of Lords. But the King's illness occurred; the Prince of Wales became Regent; a change of Ministry seemed inevitable; and Lord Erskine, the expected new Chancellor, was well-known to have told his brother, the Earl of Buchan, that he considered General Ker the person entitled to the succession.

The much dreaded change, however, in the Chancellorship did not take place. Lord Eldon remained on the Woolsack, and, after repeated delays, moved at length for judgment in favour of Sir James. The whole of my father's correspondence with the claimant himself, with the counsel and agents employed, and with those whom he endeavoured to interest in the cause, are now before me; vividly illustrating the anxiety, the distress, the irritation, the alternation of hope and fear, and the general preponderance of alarm, which those unfortunates will best appreciate, who have themselves been subjected to the "law's delay."

At length, however, Sir John was rewarded for all his care and risk and labour and fatigue, by seeing his old friend put in possession of the title and estate of Roxburghe.

On obtaining his dukedom, the Duke wrote the following grateful letter :—

“ My dear Sir John Sinclair,

“ I thank you for your kind congratulations on the right to the title of Duke and Earl of Roxburghe being finally adjudged to be mine by the House of Lords. I should be very insensible to your good offices, were I ungrateful for your long continued exertions to procure me my right.

“ I hope the inflammation in your eyes will soon abate. You are continually exercising them rather beyond what you ought in the service of your country—added to the share I have had, pending this seven years’ litigation, in the various turns and windings of the Roxburghe causes.

“ The Duchess joins in returning many good wishes. Believe me most sincerely yours,

“ ROXBURGHE.

“ Upper Grosvenor Street, 9th May, 1812.”

His Grace took the earliest opportunity of relieving my father from his responsibilities ; and on the 8th of August, 1812, wrote to him as follows :—

“ Mr Swinton came here yesterday, and brought with him all the conjunct securities of yourself, Messrs Horne, and myself, which are now all in my possession cancelled.

“ While I have memory, I never shall be unmindful of the readiness with which you served me in

money matters, and your advice and assistance in forwarding the Roxburghe litigation.”

A curious trait of the Duke's character developed itself not long after his accession to the long-contested honours of the peerage. He proposed to erect a monument in honour of his first wife, who had left him a widower during the progress of the litigation ; but was much perplexed as to her proper designation. Ought she to be styled simply Lady Norcliffe, under which name she had lived and died ; or, since she had survived the former Duke, and was therefore actually Duchess of Roxburghe, though of course ignorant of her right, was she not entitled to the dignities of the peerage ? He held a grave consultation with an eminent genealogist upon the subject. I was long uncertain what course in this extreme case of titular difficulty the authority appealed to recommended to be taken ; and though I have since discovered that he was favourable to her Grace's pretensions, I am still ignorant whether his advice was followed, and whether the lady in question must descend to posterity with or without her legitimate distinction.

The connexion of Sir John Sinclair with the Roxburghe cause, however beneficial to a friend, was injurious to himself. It rendered him obnoxious to the opposing parties, who viewed him as the primary cause of their disappointment ; besides that the accu-

mulated business of the lawsuit withdrew his attention from his own affairs.

His attention to them was, during this period, particularly required ; for while he was assisting in the Roxburghe cause, he was engaged, and deeply, in another lawsuit of much more importance to himself.

Among the many individuals to whose success in life he essentially contributed, was George Anderson, Esq., a native of Caithness. This gentleman, having obtained through him an appointment in the medical service of the East India Company, spent many years of his life in the Madras Presidency, where he became engaged in various pecuniary transactions with Walajah Bahauder, Nabob of Arcot. Mr Anderson, on his return home, found his health in a declining state, and made a settlement of his affairs. By a holograph deed, dated at Wooler, in Northumberland, 7th June, 1791, after providing for his nearest relatives, he bequeathed to my father certain balances due to him by the Nabob.

The terms of this bequest do the highest honour to the gratitude and patriotism of the testator.

“ Having received the fullest assurances from the Right Honourable Henry Dundas in person, and from the Minister” (Mr Pitt), “ conveyed to me through the channel of George Rose, Esq., that my claims upon his Highness the Nabob of Arcot it should be their business to see adjusted ; as his High-

ness had candidly acknowledged the various sums lent him were for the use of the Honourable Company, I do hereby assign and make over the whole of these claims, above stated, to my much respected friend Sir John Sinclair, Baronet, as the grateful tribute of his countryman, in order to enable him to carry into execution those patriotic measures, which his public spirit and his philanthropy have suggested, but which his fortune may not be adequate to."

Mr Anderson confirmed this deed more formally on reaching Edinburgh, and died a few months afterwards in France. My father felt a moral certainty that claims left to him under such circumstances, and for such purposes, could not be otherwise than well founded. The testator could not be himself deceived, and could have no motive for deceiving others. On all occasions he expressed his conviction that the sums in question were actually due to him, and it is not credible that, on the borders of the grave, he should have left invalid claims as a mark of gratitude to his friend and benefactor.

Difficulties, however, arose ; and twenty years of irksome and tedious litigation followed before the Carnatic Commissioners pronounced their final decision. I have examined all the voluminous documents connected with the suit, amounting to upwards of a hundred, and may give the substance of them in a few words.

The sums lent by Mr Anderson to the Nabob may be classed under two heads ; loans paid into the Nabob's own treasury, and loans paid on his account into the treasury of the East India Company through John Hollond, Esq., governor of Madras. The sums included under the former head, amounting to 500,000 star pagodas, were all repaid, and a discharge, dated the 10th of September, 1789, was given by Mr Anderson to the Nabob. The sums under the latter head included nine payments, made in the months of April, May, and June, of the same year, and amounted to 136,283 star pagodas. They were advanced at a very critical juncture, when the treasury of the Company was empty, and could not otherwise be supplied. Of these nine advances, seven appear to have been repaid ; but there were no receipts for the two remaining sums, amounting to 42,000 star pagodas, with interest.*

Two difficulties, however, were to be surmounted in establishing the claim : One was, that Governor Hollond had not paid into the Company's exchequer the sums advanced by Mr Anderson. But, in reply to this objection, it was proved beyond dispute by the acknowledgment of the Nabob himself, and by the report of the Committee of Investigation at Madras, that the advances had been made ; and it was for the

* A pagoda is about eight shillings. The accumulated interest, during upwards of twenty years, before the decision was given, amounted to a larger sum than the principal.

Governor, not for Mr Anderson, to show how the money placed on the Nabob's account in his hands had been disposed of.

The other difficulty arose from the discharge already mentioned, which was of a date some months subsequent to the loans, and seemed to close all prior transactions of a pecuniary nature between the Nabob and Mr Anderson. The discharge was as follows:—"I, George Anderson, do hereby declare, that all my accounts with his Highness the Nabob Wallajah Bahauder's Circar, from the beginning of my dealings with the Circar to the 10th of September, 1789, being finally adjusted, and the balance paid me as per adjustment, I have delivered the Circar all bonds, enayetnamas, and all other papers I have received."

Sir John, on various grounds, denied that the above discharge, or adjustment, was any bar to his claims: first, because the discharge referred exclusively to the particular items mentioned, and could not include claims of which no notice whatever was taken in the instrument; secondly, because it appeared from the discharge itself that no more was intended by the Nabob, than that Mr Anderson, on receiving the balance, should grant a receipt, or release, for the particular accounts thereby settled or adjusted. The words annexed to the instrument are, "Let the sum of star pagodas, 59,313.9, be paid from the treasury, and a proper receipt, witnessed by respectable persons,

be taken ;” thirdly, because Mr Anderson had other claims against the Nabob, and actually made them, subsequent to the date of the discharge, as appeared abundantly from his Highness’s own acknowledgment, and from the evidence of two competent witnesses, who stated that Mr Anderson at the time declared his claims to be only in part discharged.

Sir John submitted his case to a very high legal authority, Sir Samuel Romilly, and received from him the following opinion :—“ I think it is clear that the instrument described in these papers as a release, was not a release, and could not be pleaded as such in law or equity. It appears to me only a receipt, or an acknowledgment, of a stated account, and I am inclined to think that a court of equity would have permitted Mr Anderson, after signing that instrument, to have shown that there were omissions to his prejudice in the account which had been stated. Upon this point, however, I am not sufficiently master to be able to give a decided opinion.

“ SAMUEL ROMILLY.”

“ Lincoln’s Inn, June 24, 1812.”

Mr Stuart Hall, also, a respectable legal authority at Madras, well acquainted at the time with the whole of these transactions, and professionally employed by Mr Anderson, thus expresses himself in a letter to Sir John, dated London, 7th August 1807 :—“ I am convinced, as I am of my existence,

that the money you claim has not, nor ever had any connexion with the discharge, and that it is at this moment *bonâ fide* due." Mr Hall adds, "fourteen or fifteen years ago, I could have gone into particulars, and spoken positively; I am exceedingly sorry that it is not now in my power. But surely the evidence afforded by the report of the Madras Commissioners clearly, to my mind decidedly, illustrates the facts on which some doubts had arisen; and, combined with the other testimony that has been adduced, establishes your demand upon the broadest basis of equity, if not of law, which, in my humble opinion, is also with you."

In another letter, Mr Stuart Hall states, that to "persons acquainted with the modes usually adopted by the Durbar of the Carnatic, (the Nabob's Court), in transacting business, the conclusion would appear correct and just, that the discharge given by Mr Anderson did not refer to the transactions on which Sir John's claim was founded."

Notwithstanding all these arguments, the Carnatic commissioners considered the discharge as a general settlement of all prior accounts between the Nabob and Mr Anderson, and, on that ground, rejected Sir John Sinclair's demands.

The results of Mr Anderson's generous bequest were most unfortunate. Not only did it fail of proving a benefit to my father and his family, but became eventually a serious detriment, involving him in much

pecuniary embarrassment. Sanguine in this, as he was in all his designs, he resolved at once to prosecute with energy those improvements which, to use the words of Mr Anderson, "his public spirit and philanthropy had suggested, but which his fortune was not adequate to." A debt was thus contracted, which the economy of years was not sufficient fully to discharge, and his expenditure was of necessity diminished, at the very time when its increase became desirable for the education and settlement in life of a numerous family.

The various undertakings, financial, political, agricultural, and juridical, in which hitherto I have represented my father as a conspicuous actor, might lead my readers to imagine that he was so entirely devoted to business as to have no leisure or inclination for works of taste and imagination. But I have the means of showing, that he was as much an enthusiast in advancing the poetry, the music, the dress, the language, customs, and recreations of his countrymen, as for extending their skill in agriculture and the useful arts of life. He was a zealous friend to the Highland Societies, both of London and of Scotland, being an original member of the latter, and, in 1776, president of the former institution. The Highland Society of Scotland has directed principally its attention to agricultural pursuits, and has contributed largely to excite a spirit of improvement throughout North Britain. It awards premiums for discoveries

in all departments of rural industry, and for the best essays on instruments of husbandry ; while, for the local advancement of pastoral economy, it holds annually a large cattle-show, either at Edinburgh or at some one of the provincial capitals. The first exhibition took place at Edinburgh in 1822; and meetings have since been held at Glasgow, Perth, Dumfries, Inverness, Kelso, Stirling, Aberdeen, and Ayr. These, in every instance, have been attended with complete success, while, by means of local subscriptions, the number and amount of premiums have been continually increased. So energetic and so well directed have been the operations of the Society in all departments, that it has now attained the rank of a national institution, and may be looked upon as a “ Board of Agriculture ” for Scotland.

The kindred association in London has not only agricultural objects in view, but is also intended to relieve distressed Highlanders in the metropolis, as well as to preserve the national literature and peculiarities of the Celtic race. Among the remains of Celtic literature, the most prominent are the poems of Ossian ; and in the question of their authenticity, the Society could not fail to take a warm interest.

The poems of Ossian had, from time immemorial, been admired and sung by the natives of the Highlands, but had been allowed to remain in the obscurity of the original Gaelic, till the year 1760-2, when James Macpherson published his translation. This work at its

first appearance was received with much applause by many distinguished literary characters, who pronounced it one of the most sublime productions of the human mind. Ossian was considered not inferior to the greatest of Epic poets, and was ranked with Homer, Virgil, and Milton. Dr Blair, who formally introduced the publication to the world, as a venerable remnant of antiquity, newly discovered and brought to view, expatiates on the "solemn and awful grandeur of Ossian," and affirms of his poetry that it "deserves, more perhaps than any other, to be styled the poetry of the heart." David Hume pronounces Macpherson's work "one of the greatest curiosities, in all respects, that ever was discovered in the commonwealth of letters." Gibbon is delighted with the "bravery, the tenderness, the elegant genius of Ossian." The Edinburgh Review affirms the collection to possess so high a merit as to have given "a new tone to poetry throughout all Europe." The sentiments of foreigners concurred with the authorities above enumerated. "*Il existe, ce me semble,*" says Madame de Staël, "*deux littératures tout-à-fait distinctes ; celle qui vient du midi, et celle qui descend du nord ; celle dont Homère est la première source ; celle dont Ossian est l'origine.*" * The work

* De la littérature. "There exist, as it seems to me, two kinds of literature altogether distinct ; the one has its origin in the South, and the other in the North ; of the one Homer is the source ; of the other Ossian.

was translated, not only into various modern tongues of the continent, but also into Latin, as the common language of the learned. Of these versions, by far the most spirited is the Italian of Cesarotti, memorable for having furnished tales of battle, effusions of lofty natural eloquence, and scenes of wild and warlike grandeur to the young and ardent spirit of Napoleon. An imitation of the Ossianic poetry was also among the earliest efforts of the gloomy and imaginative Byron.*

The admiration of Ossian, though general, was not unanimous. While numerous critics eulogized the sublimity, or vindicated the authenticity of Macpherson's book, a powerful dissentient appeared in the great dictator of English literature, Dr Samuel Johnson. All his characteristic antipathy to Scotland was roused on this occasion. To acknowledge that in a rude age, when the southern half of Britain was in a state of total barbarism, the most refined sentiments could be uttered and admired in Caledonia, was too much for his Saxon prejudices. His reasonings on this occasion, as we find them in his *Tour*

* Death of Colmar and Orla. See Byron's "Hours of Idleness."

"I have in my possession a French translation, in 4to, of a curious Russian work, entitled "Fingal; Tragédie en trois actes, traduite du Russe en vers Français par H^{re}. J^h. Dalmas." The French translator subjoins the Russian, together with the music employed in the representation. Of the music, he says, "Elle est si parfaitement analogue au sujet, qu'elle suffiroit pour placer M. Koslowski parmi les grands maîtres, si 'l n'avoit déjà donné des preuves d'un rare talent."

to the Hebrides, and in his conversation preserved by his inimitable biographer, are curious—showing at once strength of argument and boisterousness of passion. He brands Macpherson as a liar, and a ruffian—pronounces his work a cheat—and adds, what was more provoking to its admirers, that it was destitute of all poetical merit. He affirms of Dr Blair, who, from its internal evidences, had vindicated the authenticity of the work, that he was miserably deceived; and assures the enraptured professor that “many men, many women, and many children,” could write such poems. To Sir Joshua Reynolds he declares, that “a man might write such stuff for ever, if he would abandon his mind to it,” and calls the *Fingal* “a mere unconnected rhapsody—a tiresome repetition of the same images, where there is neither end nor object, design nor moral.” To sarcasm and declamation, he joins more serious grounds of objection; contending, that Erse was never a written language—that no Erse manuscript was an hundred years old—that the ancient documents pretended to by the Highlanders were Irish—that as the bards could not read, they could not be expected to write—that the Ossianic poems were too long to have been committed to memory—and finally, that the easy reception of them in Scotland might be accounted for from the extravagant vanity of Scotsmen, who generally preferred the honour of Scotland to truth.

The literati of England acquiesced almost univer-

sally in the dictum of their lexicographer. Warburton was at first inclined to be an exception, but afterwards yielded to the objections of Bishop Hurd, who considered the poems as “patched up from old Erse fragments.” Warburton’s change of sentiment (a circumstance very rare in his intellectual history) is related by himself with great simplicity and candour. In a letter to Hurd he says—“I have been extremely entertained with the wars of Fingal. He can be no cheat, for I think the enthusiasm of this specifically sublime poetry could hardly be counterfeit. A modern writer would have been less simple and uniform ;—thus far had I written when your letter of Christmas-day came to hand ; as you will easily understand by my submitting to take shame on me, assuring you that I am fully convinced of my false opinion delivered just above concerning Fingal. I did not consider the matter as I ought. Your reasons for the forgery are unanswerable. And of all these reasons but one occurred to me, the want of external evidence, and this I own did shock me. But you have waked me from a very pleasing dream, and made me hate the impostor, which is the most uneasy sentiment of our waking thoughts.” *

In the Lowlands of Scotland, jealousy of Highland pretensions disposed many to the adoption of the Anglican theory. They found an able representative

* Warburton’s Letters to Hurd, pp. 334-335.

in Malcolm Laing, the historian, whose arguments to prove Macpherson an original author, and not a translator, were pronounced unanswerable. It is a singular circumstance in this controversy, that any argument which went to prove more for Macpherson than his being a diligent compiler and good translator, destroyed his veracity, while it tended to establish the originality and fertility of his genius. He himself seems to have been doubtful which praise to sacrifice—that of honesty, or that of invention. The immediate disclosure of his alleged originals, with all the marks of antiquity upon them, would have gone far towards deciding the question. Delay increased suspicion; he maintained that he had the manuscripts in his possession, but he refused to produce them. A question naturally arose as to his motives for this refusal. Some affirmed him to be proud and capricious; others excused him on the plea of literary persecution; and many, with Dr Johnson, spoke of that “stubborn audacity which is the last refuge of guilt.” Without enumerating the various pamphlets published in this antiquarian war, most of them extremely acrimonious and personal, I may observe, that at length the Highland Society of London obtained, in 1804, possession of certain manuscripts, which, in 1796, had been bequeathed by Mr Macpherson to the care of his executors, with the sum of L.1000 to defray the expenses of their publication. The Society appointed a committee, of which Sir John Sinclair was nomina-

ted president, to superintend the execution of the work. It was published in three large octavo volumes, including a literal translation in Latin (such as is generally appended to the Greek classics) by R. Macfarlane, A.M.; a translation of the First Book of Fingal into English, with notes, by the Rev. Thomas Ross; also an English version of the Abbé Cesarotti's Dissertation to prove the Authenticity of the Poems, with notes and a supplemental essay, by John M'Arthur, LL.D., concluding with brief notices of books on Celtic literature and antiquities, and a catalogue of ancient Gaelic and Irish manuscripts on Great Britain and Ireland. To these volumes, at the request of the committee, their president prefixed a dissertation of his own, containing a concise and able statement of all the arguments previously adduced to prove the authenticity of the Ossianic poems; together with replies to objections, and some additional evidence which his own industry had collected. My father was exceedingly gratified by the testimonies which, after much research, he brought forward respecting a manuscript of the Temora, Fingal, and other poems of Ossian, deposited in the archives of the Scotch College at Douay, in Flanders, long previous to Macpherson's compilation. Of this curious manuscript, which lives only in description, the greater part was torn and burnt by students ignorant of its value, and the rest destroyed, with the whole property of that seminary, at the French Revolution.

Sir John Sinclair obtained the evidence in question from five clergymen, among whom was Dr Chisholm, a Roman Catholic bishop. The materials were collected about the year 1745, and transcribed into a large folio above three inches thick, in a small character, by Mr John Farquharson, prefect of studies in the college. Another evidence, adduced for the first time in this disquisition, is the fact, that the existence of Swaran, the son of Starno, his wars in Ireland, and his defeat by Fingal, as related by Ossian, are authenticated by ancient Danish history, where a view is given of manners, customs, and opinions, confirming the Ossianic representation. The ingenuity and research called forth in my father's Treatise, gratified in a high degree the predilections of his northern friends. "Your valuable work," says the authoress of the "Letters from the Mountains," (Mrs Grant) "has had with me the effect of making assurance doubly sure." A well-known Encyclopædist of the north "consigns over to invincible unbelief any reader who, after perusing Sir John Sinclair's Dissertation, with the appended letters and notes, believes Macpherson to be more than the translator and editor of Ossian."*

* My father was much gratified by the encouragement he received in his Celtic researches from his friend Bishop Watson. In a letter, dated February, 1799, the Bishop writes,— "I am glad that your active spirit has turned your attention to Gaelic literature, of which I know nothing but from Ossian's

The following note from the Author of *Waverley* is interesting, in connexion with this question :—

“ Mr Scott has the honour to offer respectful compliments to Sir John Sinclair, with his best thanks for the copy of the *Essay on Ossian's poetry*. Mr Scott is totally ignorant of the Gaelic, without which he conceives it almost impossible to form an accurate opinion concerning the merits of the respective translations ; but he has no doubt, from the superior simplicity of expression in the new version, it must be nearer the original. When circumstances permit Mr Scott to bestow a more attentive perusal on Sir John Sinclair's curious pamphlet, he will be happy to embrace the opportunity Sir John offers him, of conversing upon the subject. The principal difficulty seems to Mr Scott to lie in proving the authenticity of the Gaelic version itself, as it seems entirely to rest upon the credit of Mr Macpherson himself, whose character seems to be given up on all hands. The business of the Court, joined to some personal avocations, prevents Mr Scott from at present considering the controversy with much attention.”

“ Castle Street, Thursday, 27th Nov. 1806.

Poems. They are now, I presume, originals, as they are certainly simple and sublime.” After informing Sir John that he had given one of his best livings to a Celtic antiquary, he adds —“ You must look upon me, then, as a co-operator, or at least a wellwisher in your new pursuit.”

I shall not enter further into this curious discussion, than merely to remark my own agreement with the highly-gifted author just quoted—in his opinion, that those only are competent to judge who can read and appreciate the alleged Celtic originals. It is notorious, however, that Celtic *literati* deny the Gaelic scholarship of Macpherson, and maintain the incomparable superiority of the original over his translation. They point out numerous plagiarisms, as well as puerile and absurd amplifications of the Ossianic text, casting suspicion on what might be otherwise considered authentic. I consider it very desirable that the two questions respecting the *poetic merit* and the *authenticity* of the poems were discussed separately, as questions independent of each other. In general, no critic allows these productions any merit, unless he also regards them as undoubted effusions of the ancient Celtic muse; nor, on the other hand, does any critic deny their antiquity, without at the same time denying all the high qualities ascribed to them by their defenders.

Nor did the Highland Baronet confine his regard to the literature of the Celts; he was anxious also to uphold generally their national manners and peculiarities. He considered these not merely as furnishing materials for the poet, the antiquary, and the philosopher, but also as being intimately connected with the martial character by which the Highlanders have from time immemorial been distinguished. It became

the policy of the English Government, after the battle of Culloden, to tame this warlike spirit by suppressing, or if possible obliterating, these local characteristics ; it became, therefore, my father's object to invert this process, and to foster Celtic prowess, by promoting Celtic customs. He addressed, in 1804, a pamphlet upon this subject to the Highland Societies of London and of Scotland, evincing so much curious research as well as zeal in the cause, that the former printed his paper for the use of its members, and likewise for circulation, *gratis*, among the friends of Gaelic antiquity. I have also now before me an unanimous vote of thanks from the same patriotic body to Sir John Sinclair, for having "readily and handsomely consented to write a Memoir or History of the Society ;"—"a performance," adds the secretary, "from which they cannot but anticipate much honour and advantage to the institution, when they recollect that it is to be composed by the author of the Dissertation which introduced to the public the late splendid edition of the works of the immortal Ossian." In this history are described at large all the objects, literary, antiquarian, and benevolent, which the institution had in view ; and some curious anecdotes are related of Highland courage and generosity. I may mention, as a specimen, the reply of a veteran Celt, on being complimented upon the gallant conduct of his regiment in Egypt,—“How could it be otherwise, when

our officers told us, in *Gaelic*, to remember the honour of our country?"

On the same principle Sir John Sinclair took a leading part in the exhibitions of Highland music, dress, and dancing, instituted by the Society, and celebrated annually for many years in the Theatre-Royal at Edinburgh. Prizes at this festival were awarded to the best performers on the great Highland bagpipe, as well as to those Gaels whose dress and dancing, in the opinion of skilful antiquaries, were most correct and national. Competitors appeared from the remotest corners of the north, emulous of distinction at this far-famed anniversary. The place of meeting was crowded in every part. The judges, among whom were generally some distinguished Highland chieftains, dressed in the costume of their respective clans, occupied the stage box; and the preses of the year usually accompanied the distribution with an oration in praise of Celtic manners and institutions. This office frequently devolved on Sir John Sinclair, who discharged its duties peculiarly to the satisfaction both of competitors and spectators.

Attributing to others the same feelings which animated himself, Sir John endeavoured to interest strangers in this curious exhibition of Scottish manners. One year he insisted upon carrying along with him two Italian noblemen, a Count from Milan, and a Marchese from Naples, contrary to the wishes of his friends, who in vain assailed him with assurances,

that to the refined ears of Italy, the great Highland bagpipe would be intolerably offensive. But a great triumph awaited him. When his Italian guests saw the exertions of the competitors, the enthusiasm of the audience, and the exultation of the conqueror; and when they heard the rapturous applause with which every sentence in the oration of the preses was received, they declared that they had never witnessed any spectacle more gratifying. "I would have come from Italy to be present," said the Count. "I am proud to think," said the Marchese, "that we too have the bagpipe in our country; it is played by all the peasantry of Calabria."

So habitually was music, from the remotest ages in Scotland, contemplated as a national characteristic, and such alarm did the first appearance of its decay produce, that there is an act of the Scottish Parliament, so early as the year 1579, which states, in its preamble, as a reason for the law, the likelihood of the art falling into decay. In this curious legislative relic, the provost, bailies, councils, &c. of burghs, and the patrons and provosts of colleges, are enjoined, "on their peril, to erect and set up ane sang school, with ane maister sufficient and abill for instruction of the youth in the saide science of musick." This document was often quoted by my father as illustrating the antiquity of Scottish national tunes. When the Persian Ambassador was at Edinburgh, the Baronet took him to the theatre, having prevailed on

the manager to introduce some of the best Scottish airs into the performance of the evening. At the conclusion, the Ambassador surprised Sir John, by declaring that he had heard all these tunes long before in his own country. Perhaps, industrious research might discover traces of resemblance in the early music of all nations. Such music expresses feelings and associations common to every mind in the infancy of society.

From these *nugæ celticæ*, I now return to the order of political events, presenting, at the crisis I have now reached, a scene of chivalrous patriotism, perhaps unexampled in European history. The high-spirited people of Spain, after the inveiglement of their King into the snares of an insidious usurper, after the seizure of their best fortresses, and the occupation of their territory and capital, had the boldness and magnanimity to resist a power already trampling on the governments and armies of all their neighbours.

The courage of Bishop Watson, whose despondency I have recorded so much at large, now begins to revive.

“ Calgarth Park, Aug. 10, 1808.

“ My dear Sir John,

“ We are playing a noble game, and our last stake. I hope that the Ministry know that the list of Spanish patriots includes a majority of the men of

rank and fortune; if it does not, Buonaparte will soon overcome the popular enthusiasm, and we shall become the victims, not merely of his ambition, but of his augmented hatred. By the by, I like not this cramming of the Spanish deputies with turtle and venison; at such a crisis, a man of true patriotism would scarcely either eat or sleep till he had accomplished the purpose of his mission, and made a report of his success to those who sent him.

“ I am doing nothing, and am, in truth, arrived at that age in which I do not wish to have any thing to do. I have now time for every thing; and if excessive labour in the prime of life gives a claim to indolence in old age, I know none of my friends who can have better pretensions to the *otia tuta* than yourself. Yours sincerely.

“ R. L.”

In the following letter, Lord Moira remarks, with his usual intelligence and skill, on the benefits derivable from the enthusiasm of the Spaniards.

“ Donington, July 27, 1808.

“ My dear Sir John,

“ You are right in saying, that the occurrences in Spain went beyond the most sanguine hope with which we could have flattered ourselves; and your Latin quotation would have been equally apposite with the remark, had one not to fear that no

adequate advantage will be drawn from the circumstance. The opportunity was a glorious one. Our Ministers, however, seem to have been incapable of opening their eyes to an orbit sufficient to embrace the magnitude of the object. Without reference to the radical distresses of our situation, without conviction that nothing is gained unless you alter the relative proportion of strength now existing between France and this country, we seem to aim at nothing more than to embarrass Buonaparte for the instant. Suppose him foiled in his designs on Spain, he only misses an acquisition of which he had, in fact, no need. Suppose Spain emancipated from fear of thralldom, our benefit is as nothing, if she sits down upon a compromise with Buonaparte. We had only one national game to play. It was to seize the enthusiasm of Spain, left open to our influence by the entire disorganization of the country, and to direct it, not simply to the clearance of Spain from French armies, but to proclaim vengeance for the insidious attack upon that kingdom. On no other terms can you expect to invite forward the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and without their co-operation the war must finish, whensoever it shall finish, by leaving France with a preponderance under which we shall be smothered. One cannot say that this great effort may not be made, but the course of our measures is not at all calculated to bring it about. You see the jealousy of Spain strongly indicated towards us, even at the

moment when they are soliciting succours. And we have taken no step of a nature to extinguish that well-grounded doubt of our good faith, though the entire confidence of Spain in us is now our only chance of escape from the most formidable distresses. It is the galling weight of the public imposts, not what Buonaparte can do against us by force, that constitutes the danger of our situation. And with what sort of forecast is it that we are to look forward to years of protracted contest, with every year a new invasion of the comforts of the people? Added to this, we are reviving all the tricks of diplomacy in Spain; we are fashioning armies for the capture of sea-ports, or the defence of passes; and we are boastingly anticipating a triumph in the independence of Spain, which the inhabitants would achieve without our aid. Let all this succeed to our wish, and we are only just where we were. It is an odd thing to say, but the defeat of the Spanish armies is the only chance which I now see for the conversion of this opportunity (after its first advantages were missed) to the support of any British interest. In the freedom of gallant men we must all rejoice; but our own country demands our attention, and we might honourably engraft our own cause upon the deliverance of Spain. Believe me, my dear Sir John, your very obedient and humble servant,

“MOIRA.”

It is hardly necessary to observe, that my father entered warmly into the sympathies of his correspondents with the bravery and patriotism of Spain ; and perceived the policy of aiding the insurgent patriots in the struggle for their independence. He did not, however, confine this expression of his sentiments to private communications, but again appeared (A. D. 1809) from the press, in a pamphlet, entitled “ Hints regarding the absolute necessity of greater energy in the conduct of our military operations.” His chief object, was to counteract the influence of those timid politicians, who maintained, that we should abandon the Spanish and Portuguese patriots to their own resources, and should rest contented with our naval superiority. He traces the history, and illustrates the military tactics of Napoleon, from various private sources of information, and shows the danger of despising or *misrepresenting* a formidable enemy. He demonstrates, that by superiority in vigour and rapidity, rather than in physical strength, the victories of the French had been achieved. He complains of our own inertness and stupidity, in “ sending one general successively to supersede another ; more like the amusing tricks of a harlequin, than the conduct of important concerns ; sending an army to attack fortifications, without battering cannon to demolish them.” He observes, that “ towards the attainment of success in war, it is essential, as soon as the plan of a campaign is formed, *to carry it on with energy.* Not an instant

should be lost in collecting a body of troops, if possible, more than adequate to the service to be performed ; in sending them, with the utmost speed, and under the command of the ablest generals, to their place of destination ; in supplying them with every article necessary for their health, their comfort, or their subsistence ; and above all, in furnishing them with those instruments of war, by which they can best be enabled to defeat the enemy. The delay of a single day, and sometimes of a single hour, in regard to any one of these important particulars, may decide the issue of a campaign, and the fate of Europe.”

It will appear from the above quotation, that my father insisted earnestly on the necessity for providing our army with the most effective military weapons. He was the more anxious on this point, both because our Board of Ordnance, in a very important instance, had recently shown a degree of negligence disgraceful to themselves, and disastrous to the country ; and because he was himself at that time labouring to bring forward an ingenious invention, of which all his efforts could not induce them to avail themselves. When Professor Anderson of Glasgow proposed to show his plan of Horse Artillery, “ he was treated,” says Sir John in the pamphlet before me, “ with the utmost contempt, and was told, that he might do what he liked with it ; yet we were glad afterwards to borrow that very plan from the French. Their conquest of Switzerland, I know, from the most satisfac-

tory evidence, was entirely owing to that invention ; and many other battles have been gained by it. Little do ministers or statesmen consider, that the fate of a nation may depend upon such discoveries, and that from ignorance or jealousy useful inventions have been often crushed, or kept back by the underlings of a Board of Ordnance."

The military weapon which, as I have said, my father had for some time patronised and endeavoured to introduce, was a kind of shell, invented by an ingenious officer of artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Shrapnel, and now familiarly known by the name of *spherical case-shot*. Shrapnel's invention had nearly shared the fate of Anderson's. He brought it forward in 1802, but could gain little attention. Like other projectors of genius, he was rather an enthusiast, and by the strong expressions he employed in setting forth the merit of his new plan, provoked scepticism without awakening interest. He excited a sneer, by describing it as of equal importance with the introduction of gunpowder ; while by his vehement and importunate zeal he irritated old officers, who, in their attachment to established usage, branded him as a mere innovator, and declared their conviction, that his schemes, however plausible in theory, would utterly fail in actual service. " This new shot," they said, " may perhaps, as a novelty, raise a panic among the enemy, but it will do little execution, and, like many other boasted improvements, will soon be set aside as inefficient."

I have a vivid and a painful sense of the difficulties encountered by my father in bringing forward and calling into general use this new instrument of war, from the vast magazine of papers connected with the subject, which it has been my province to examine and reduce to order. Besides above twenty letters from the Colonel himself, and copies of the replies, I have before me communications with Mr Perceval, the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Castlereagh, Mr Canning, the Earls of Cathcart, Mulgrave, Suffolk, and Moira; Sir Arthur Wellesley, the Count de Materosa, together with Charles Grant, Esq. deputy chairman of the East India Company; Lieutenant-Colonels Robe, Constable, and Sheldrake, and Major Viney of the Artillery.

Among these documents, the first in order is Colonel Shrapnel's original specification of his plan, illustrated with drawings exhibiting the mode of management. Case or canister-shot, had long been considered the most destructive kind of ammunition fired by artillery, but as the case flies in pieces, and the balls diverge immediately on leaving the gun, many of them are intercepted or fall wide of the mark. The range also is limited to 350 yards. Shrapnel's object, therefore, was to increase the range and lessen the divergency. For this purpose he filled a strong cast-iron shell with musket balls, adding a sufficient quantity of powder to explode it, with a fuse in length proportioned to the time necessary for getting within a cer-

tain distance of the object. The case with its contents would, he found, after the explosion, proceed in compact order, and with undiminished velocity, to the mark. The greatest number of balls in one shell is 379, and the longest range 1920 yards. The Colonel's programme wears a formidable aspect. The first three figures represent three targets flanked by troops, both foot and horse, all completely riddled with shot. An explanation is given in the following note:—"3998 balls and 84 splinters of shells struck the three targets, being more than one-third of the number of balls fired from the guns—most of the balls went entirely through the targets, which were two inches thick, fifty-four feet long, and nine feet high (the height of a mounted dragoon), and were placed at intervals of fifty yards from each other, in the longest range practicable at Woolwich. Ten rounds were fired from two $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers, four light twelve-pounders, and four light six-pounders, in thirteen minutes, which produced the above result." Another figure shows the effect of this new projectile fired at a high elevation into a redoubt, or amongst broken grounds. A whole platoon of infantry, although concealed entirely from the view of the assailants, are annihilated by one discharge.

In consequence of conversing and corresponding frequently with this ingenious and sanguine officer, and of hearing from him all his hopes and fears, encouragements and disquietudes, the Baronet became enthu-

siastic in his support, and, more than half in earnest, used to designate Shrapnel “the Modern Archimedes.” As the most effectual means of rousing the Board of Ordnance, Sir John, in 1807, proposed at once to bring the subject before Parliament; but no sooner did he inform the Colonel of his intention, than the latter, with patriotic earnestness, entreated him to desist. “I am anxious,” he writes, “that the invention should not be made public in any way whatever, lest its importance should thus be signified to the enemy.”

Amongst the persons of distinction whom my father first interested in Shrapnel’s favour was His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, who, in a letter to Sir John, promises to see the Colonel, and expresses much anxiety “that so valuable an invention should not be lost to the country.”

General Lord Suffolk took up the cause with great zeal; and in a letter, dated Hastings, 19th July, 1808, thus describes two interviews with Mr Canning upon the subject. “I carried with me one of Colonel Shrapnel’s engraved plans of the effect of his shells, with which Mr Canning appeared to be much struck, and informed him such was their utility, no officer now commanding an expedition would sail without them; but that the present Master-General of the Ordnance” (Lord Chatham) “had never seen the inventor, or rather the promoter of them, and had taken little or no precaution for the preparing a sufficient supply of them for the armaments now fitting out. Mr Canning took

some notes on the subject, and as the Cabinet appears to have acted upon some of the principles then stated, I trust that this communication was not entirely without effect." In another letter, his Lordship complains of having been referred by Mr Canning and Lord Castlereagh to Lord Chatham, and declares that he will hold no communication with so indolent and incapable a Minister. "Some years ago," he adds, "when Lord Chatham was first Lord of the Admiralty, I called upon him *at one o'clock*, and the servant acknowledged that he was *not then stirring*."

But my father's hopes rested chiefly upon Mr Perceval, to whom he frequently addressed the most urgent applications upon the subject. "I entreat you," he says, "by every thing you hold dear and valuable, as a man, as a father, and as a British statesman, to bring this subject before the Cabinet." And again, having had opportunity of obliging the Minister, he writes—"On being asked by Mr Pitt what I would have in recompense for the assistance I gave to public credit in 1793, when the Exchequer bills were issued, my answer was, 'establish the Board of Agriculture.' If you were now to put a similar question to me, I should say; 'do justice to the inventions of Shrapnel, and you may yet save Spain and Portugal, and make this country impregnable.'" Mr Perceval, in reply, repeatedly assured Sir John that spherical case-shot should be fairly tried in the Peninsula.

The campaign of 1808 was an important crisis for

Colonel Shrapnel. The Board of Ordnance was prevailed upon to send some of his shells to Portugal, and their efficiency was triumphantly established in the actions of the 17th and 21st of August against Marshal Junot. Colonel Robe, who on both occasions commanded the artillery, writing to Shrapnel, tells him, “Your shot is the admiration of the whole army. I should not do my duty to the service were I not to attribute our good fortune to a good use of that weapon with which you have furnished us. I told Sir Arthur Wellesley I meant to write to you, and asked if it might be with his concurrence. His answer was, you may say any thing you please, you cannot say too much.” A similar report was made by Major Viney, who at the same time expresses his regret that only a small proportion of the new ammunition had been provided. “But,” he adds, “I am inclined to think that this admirable invention will meet with but feeble opposition in future.” The most decisive document, however, to prove the usefulness of Colonel Shrapnel’s shell, is the following letter, from the English Commander himself, to Sir John Sinclair, acknowledging the importance of the invention, and desiring that the secret should not at that time be divulged:—

“Holyhead, October 18th, 1808.

“Dear Sir,

“I have had the pleasure of receiving your two

letters, and I am much concerned that I was not at home when Lieutenant-Colonel Shrapnel did me the favour to call upon me in London. I shall have great pleasure in testifying at any time the great benefit which the army lately under my command derived from the use of the spherical case-shot in two actions with the enemy—a benefit which, I am convinced, will be enjoyed whenever they will be judiciously and skilfully used.

“ I consider it, however, to be very desirable that this invention, and the use which the British have made of it, should not be made public. Our enemies are not aware of the cause of the effect of our artillery, of which they have complained, and we may depend upon it, that any public mention or notice of the benefit we have derived from this description of shot would induce them immediately to adopt it.

“ At the same time I consider Colonel Shrapnel to be entitled to a reward for his ingenuity, and the science he has proved he possesses, by the perfection to which he has brought this invention; and more particularly so, because I am of opinion that the public interests require that the advantage which we have derived from the use of the shot should not be made public, and he is thus deprived of the fame and honour which he would have enjoyed.

“ I am ready to give this opinion whenever it may be wished, and to assist, by every means in my power, to procure a reward for Lieutenant-Colonel Shrapnel.

“I have thought proper to trouble you so far upon this subject, as you have expressed so great an interest in it. And I have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient humble servant,

“ARTHUR WELLESLEY.”

Having brought the spherical case-shot effectually into use, Sir John next endeavoured to procure a reward for the inventor. Fulton was understood to have obtained L.10,000 for inventing the catamaran, and Congreve L.1200 a-year, chiefly for the invention of rockets; whereas Shrapnel received only twenty shillings a-day as a lieutenant-colonel of artillery. His own personal application had been unsuccessful. The Board of Ordnance coolly assured him that they had no funds at their disposal for the reward of merit. The Colonel, with great reason, was loud in his complaints. “Those,” he says, “who have used this new weapon of war have titles, honours, rewards and thanks from both Houses of Parliament, whilst the inventor who put it into their hands remains unheard of.”* Among the friends whom my father consulted, there was a great difference of opinion as well respecting the amount of remuneration to be applied for, as the fund from which it should proceed. Lord Suffolk recommended an application to Parliament for L.10,000; Lord Moira preferred a patent for the

* Letter, dated June 23, 1811.

invention, which it was supposed would produce a larger sum. My father deprecated all public discussion of the subject, while the French continued ignorant of the invention,* and solicited Mr Perceval to make a grant from the secret service money, offering to give such explanations to the leaders of Opposition as would induce them to let the vote pass unnoticed.

The Premier, I believe, was prevailed upon to give some reward; not, however, enough to satisfy my father's zeal for his friend: for I find him long afterwards corresponding with a subsequent Premier, the Duke of Wellington, who intimates, that if the recompense was inadequate, more should be done.

That Sir John Sinclair contributed essentially towards bringing spherical case-shot into general use was always acknowledged, with much warmth of gratitude, by the ingenious inventor. I select short extracts from two of the Colonel's letters, written soon after his patron had begun exerting himself in his behalf. "Had Government followed your dictates, and observed your recommendations, the affairs of

* The military reader may be familiar with the fact, that, in 1812, Marmont, before the battle of Salamanca, being nearly struck by a spent musket-ball, demanded of his aide-de-camp, whether the English lines had not been reported above a mile distant? To the answer that such was the case, the Marshal rejoined,—“How, then, do you account for this musket-ball?” The phenomenon, although inexplicable at that time, soon became familiar to the French army, who learned and felt the deadly power of Shrapnel's invention in all their subsequent campaigns.

Europe would have been changed, to your everlasting renown and credit, and the whole world indebted to you for your exertions." And, again, "I have perused your several letters, and feel the highest gratitude to you for your friendly interpositions in my behalf. Much will the country be indebted to you if they take up this fire in earnest and immediately." In concluding this subject, I need only add, that the shells of this meritorious officer were not only of important use in various actions, but have not been superseded by any later invention. The ammunition for mounted batteries is issued from the Board of Ordnance in the following proportions:—Round shot, forty-four; common case-shot, eight; spherical case-shot, sixteen. To use the words of a distinguished general officer, this invention is "universally acknowledged by military men to have been in the highest degree useful in every operation that has been carried on subsequently to its adoption into the service."* A question here arises, Has the country shown a proper sense of gratitude for the services of Colonel Shrapnel?

Among numerous communications from the Treasury to Sir John Sinclair, while Mr Perceval was in office, there is one that will surprise those readers who have not given credit to the House of Lords for maintaining its independence under a Tory Adminis-

* Letter, dated 3d June, 1836.

tration. In 1808 a grant to Mr Palmer (of mail-coach celebrity) had been introduced into the general bill appropriating the supplies for the year. As this grant was liable to strong objections, considerable opposition to it was anticipated in the Upper House, although hopes were entertained that their Lordships would give way. It soon appeared, however, that they were quite impracticable, and would erase at all hazards the obnoxious clause. But the Commons in that case would be under the necessity of rejecting the whole bill, as they could not, consistently with the rules of Parliament, admit of an amendment by the Lords in a money act. The clause, therefore, must be expunged before the bill passed the Lower House ; for which purpose Mr Huskisson, as Secretary to the Treasury, solicits the attendance of Sir John Sinclair and his friends. He thus explains the dilemma into which, owing to the unmanageable temper of the Peers, the Government was brought : “ In such a state of difference between the two Houses, there appears to be no remedy but a prorogation of Parliament, to be immediately followed by a new session, in which all the estimates, supplies, &c., must be gone through over again—the extensive mischief of which I need not dwell upon.” In another letter, enclosing the former, he adds, “ Mr Perceval will this day give notice for Thursday. Enclosed you will receive a letter on the subject, which you may communicate to our friends at Holkham ; for I

believe there is no doubt that if this improper grant should be inserted in the Appropriation Act, it would be rejected by the Lords. The consequences would be serious enough should they only be a prorogation and an immediate new session, but they might not improbably lead to a rupture between the two Houses, of which no one can calculate the result, or easily anticipate the remedy.” *

A motion was made accordingly, three days after, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for separating the grant to Mr Palmer from the general bill, and, after a long debate, was carried by a majority of 123.

During the administration of Mr Perceval, Sir John Sinclair had the honour of being sworn a Member of his Majesty's Privy Council. The appearance of the King on this occasion is described by my father as exceedingly interesting and affecting. The venerable monarch had hopelessly lost his sight, but his deportment was dignified, his recollection perfect, and his desire of useful information undiminished. He made, as usual, various enquiries into the state of agriculture; mentioned with satisfaction the husbandry of East Lothian and Berwickshire as that which he understood came nearest to perfection; and enquired whether wheat could stand the cold and boisterous climate of Caithness. This was the last time my father saw him, a circumstance which added a melan-

* Treasury Chambers, 20th June, 1808.

choly impression ever after to his recollections of the interview.

Felicitations on this auspicious occasion poured in upon Sir John from all quarters. "I heartily congratulate you," says Dr Adam Smith, "upon your acquisition of title; and hope I may yet live to see you arrive at still higher honours."—"It is an honour," says Mr Wilberforce, "which you have earned most honourably, by services, not to any party, but to your country."—"It would be a glorious circumstance for our age," says Sir Humphrey Davy, "if this were to be the prelude to an uniform patronage of the public objects of science and useful art, on which the glory and prosperity of the country must ultimately depend."

Although my father usually supported the Administration of Mr Perceval, whom he regarded both as an able statesman and a personal friend, he conceived that on one important occasion the Minister, by an unguarded concession, brought the empire to the very brink of ruin. In 1810 he permitted the appointment of a Select Committee in the House of Commons to enquire into the "high price of bullion, and to take into consideration the state of the circulating medium, and of the exchange betwixt Great Britain and foreign parts, and to report the same, with their observations thereupon, from time to time to the House." The Committee was proposed by Mr Horner, whom the Premier allowed to name the

greater part of its members. He took for granted, that whoever might be selected, a question affecting vitally the interests of the country would undergo deliberate and impartial examination. Mr Horner, however, as was natural, filled up the list with his own friends, able and ingenious, but speculative men, who commenced their enquiries under a firm and immovable conviction, that no country could flourish with a paper currency not convertible into coin. After examining various merchants, bankers, and dealers in bullion, the Committee, on the 8th June, 1810, published a report, recommending the resumption of cash payments at the old metallic standard (L.3, 17s. 10½d. per ounce), within the space of two years. This report gave rise to the great bullion controversy, which, with some modifications, is to this hour agitated with more or less vehemence among statesmen and economists.

On the appearance of the report, a general alarm was spread throughout the kingdom. Bank of England stock, which in February that year had been at 276, fell in October to 229½; banks began every where to lessen their issues; mercantile credit was shaken, and the Gazette crowded with insolvencies. As the Report was presented at the close of a session, and circulated during the recess, Parliament was precluded from taking immediate steps to disclaim the new doctrines advanced under the sanction of its name.*

* See Sir John Sinclair's Address to the proprietors of the Public Funds.

A short account of the argument on both sides, divested of technical phraseology, may enable the general reader to understand, as well as induce him to take an interest in, a question which is commonly regarded as repulsive and unintelligible, the unenvied province exclusively of financiers and politicians.

The first object of Mr Horner and the Bullionists was to demonstrate the fact, that a depreciation had taken place in the circulating paper medium of the country.* They argued, that although the standard price of gold was L.3, 17s. 10½d. per ounce, its market

* The word depreciation may be used in very different senses, according to the standard with which money is compared. First, a guinea, or sovereign, may be defined to be "a certain weight of gold of a certain purity;" and is depreciated, when either the weight or the purity of the metal is diminished by alloy or otherwise. Secondly, a guinea, or other metallic medium, may be defined, according to the words of Adam Smith, "a draft for a certain quantity of commodities upon all the tradesmen in the neighbourhood." As compared, therefore, with this latter standard, namely, the general level or value of commodities, a guinea or sovereign may be considered as depreciated when prices rise, and when, consequently, it becomes a draft for a smaller quantity of commodities than before. Depreciation, in this latter sense, may take place in various ways, as, for instance, when the precious metals become more abundant; when the coin is lessened in weight or fineness; or when paper, or any other substance, is introduced as a medium of circulation. I may add, that paper money is subject to a farther source of depreciation of this second kind, namely, want of public confidence, or the prevalence of doubts in the public mind as to the solvency of the parties issuing it, whether a government or a bank. Hence, in part originated, in modern times, the depreciation of American bank-notes, and of French assignats.

price, during the preceding year, had been fluctuating between L.4, 9s. and L.4, 12s. per ounce ; in other words, the market price had been about fifteen and a half per cent above the mint price. A corresponding enhancement, they contended, had taken place in the price of silver, while the rate of exchange with various parts of the Continent led to the same conclusion, being from sixteen to twenty per cent below par.

The next object of the Bullionists was to trace the depreciation thus established to an over-issue of paper money by the Bank, subsequent to the suspension of cash-payments. For this purpose they showed, that in 1798, the amount of notes issued by the Bank was 13,334,752, whereas, in the month of May, 1810, it had increased to 21,249,930. This large augmentation of paper-currency, they insisted, was the more redundant, because it was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the issues of country banks, which were emboldened to multiply their paper proportionably to the facility of obtaining notes from the Bank of England. The latter notes, it was affirmed, were the basis of the country circulation, and the superstructure might be heightened in proportion to the breadth of the foundation. Nor was this all, for in the metropolis various improvements which lessened the necessity for money had been adopted in the mode of adjusting commercial payments ; such as an increased use of bankers' drafts, the contrivance of a common receptacle (the clearing house), where such

instruments might be balanced daily against each other, and the intermediate agency of bill brokers.

Having thus, as they conceived, traced the depreciation of money to the over-issue of bank notes, Mr Horner and his Committee proceeded to animadvert on the impolicy of permitting it. Rash and improvident speculation was encouraged, and a semblance of prosperity produced, which time would show to be the harbinger of embarrassment and loss of credit. Above all, unless the public were soon assured, that cash payments would within a certain period be resumed, all confidence in the paper system would be destroyed, and the country involved in a general bankruptcy.

To these statements and deductions Sir John Sinclair replied, in one of his ablest and most effective pamphlets, entitled "Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee." In this work he begins with some objections to the form and substance of the report, and pointedly animadverts upon the haste, the prejudice, the contempt for the usages of Parliament, and the disregard of the most important evidence produced, with which that memorable document had been drawn up. He denies the alleged fact, that a depreciation of the currency had taken place. He insists that bank-notes were readily received in all pecuniary transactions, and refers to the evidence of various intelligent practical men, who had assured the Committee that they were unable to discover the

depreciation alleged. He enumerates various temporary causes to which the unfavourable state of the exchanges ought to be attributed ; in particular, the large remittances sent in bullion to the Peninsula for the support of the army, and the strong measures of Napoleon to exclude British manufactures and colonial produce from the Continent. He quotes from the report itself the opinion of able witnesses, that the rate of exchange had not been rendered adverse by the state of the currency, and exhibits documentary proof, that in point of fact, the exchanges were very far from having risen and fallen, according to the amount of paper in circulation. He contends that the quantity of paper could not be excessive, since the bank only issued notes when wanted, either for the accommodation of the Government or of commercial men, who could give adequate security. He argues, that a continual augmentation of the circulating medium was required proportionably to the increasing quantity of labour to be paid for, of revenue to be collected, and of marketable commodities to be distributed throughout the country.

With reference to the assertion of the Committee, that the prosperity which, with evident reluctance, they acknowledge had resulted from the paper system, was unsubstantial and delusive, he asks whether exports had not increased since the suspension of cash payments from thirty millions to fifty, and imports from twenty-three to thirty-six ? Whether the public

revenue had not advanced from nineteen millions to fifty-nine, and whether the price of stock had not risen from fifty-eight to sixty-two? Could that prosperity, he demands, be shadowy and perishing, which caused every branch of industry to flourish, and brought substantial comfort to a whole nation? Country labourers, it was said, were an exception; but their comfort, he insists, depended not on having occasionally high wages, but on having a regular and constant demand for their labour, for which demand the best security was an abundant circulating medium. Nor was the assertion true that the credit of the existing monetary system was in any danger. It had such a powerful hold upon the confidence of the country as not only to have stood the severe test of vast expenses and subsidies abroad, but also, what was far worse, to have outlived the insinuations, forebodings, and attacks of able and ingenious theorists at home. But, above all, he urges that an attempt to resume cash payments within two years was alike *impossible* and *ruinous*; impossible, because gold could not be had to supply the wants of the country; and ruinous, because industry would be paralysed, the revenue diminished by one-half, loans no longer negotiable, and our establishments, both military and naval, reduced of necessity to so low a scale as to leave the country open and defenceless to an enemy, powerful, victorious, and implacable.

Sir John presented a copy of his pamphlet to the

Prime Minister, who returned it, with this gratifying communication ;—

“ Ealing, 9th Sept. 1810.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I have lost no time in running over your pamphlet, which I thank you for having permitted me to peruse. It has given me great satisfaction. I have not had time to pay that attention to it which I could wish, but I have noticed in reading it some circumstances which I submit to your consideration. You will find them in the margin of the pamphlet. I am, my dear sir, yours most truly,

“ SP. PERCEVAL.”

The copy here referred to is now before me, blotted over in different places with hastily-written additions and corrections. Two specimens of these notes may interest the reader. To the statement in p. 44, he subjoins,—“ Consider the means which it would put into the power of Napoleon, if not to enrich himself at our expense, at least to produce the most alarming evils to the country. His emissaries might contrive to get into their possession numbers of the notes of the Bank of England, and employing them not for the purpose of circulation, but of direct pressure on the Bank, might bring at last the Bank itself into distress and difficulty ; and, by shaking the foundation of public credit and confidence, dry up at once the

sources of commercial, agricultural, and financial prosperity, and render the burden of those expenses which are essential to our security, utterly impossible to be maintained.”

In a note on p. 51, he asks,—“ If the restriction were removed, can the advances now made by the Bank to the Government, and which are found to be so essential for the public interest, be continued? No! The Committee are aware that they cannot. They suggest the necessity of reducing the advances to Government, in preference to abridging the discounts to the merchants. They coolly state” (p. 28), “ under such circumstances, it belongs to the Bank to take likewise into consideration how far it may be practicable, consistently with a due regard to the immediate interests of the public, rather to reduce their paper by gradual reduction of their advances to Government, than by too suddenly abridging the discount of the merchants.”

The reception of this tract by the public was not less favourable than by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. A number of merchants in the city of London transmitted to the author their acknowledgments for the timely service he had done the country by the publication ; and requested permission to publish two editions, one in English, for the chief commercial cities both at home and in America, and another in French, for circulation on the Continent. Lord Moira, on receiving the pamphlet, wrote with his own hand a

letter containing twenty-four quarto pages, explanatory of his views on the subject, which, with some trivial differences, coincided with Sir John's. Towards the conclusion, he thus animadverts upon the rash experiment recommended by the Committee,—“The most solid objection to such a currency” (paper not convertible into coin) “is, that it *may* receive a sudden check ; that the paper *may* become discredited, and that the poorer holders of it *may* thereby suffer a dreadful loss. What then shall we say to the policy of those, who, by way of guarding against the contingent evil, endeavour forcibly to produce that very shock at the present moment ? It is an infatuation beyond example. The utmost vigilance and efforts of Government ought to be applied to renew the confidence and extent of paper circulation, without an hour's delay. If this be not done, it is not alone the commercial class at home that will suffer, but an immediate inability to provide for our armies and fleets abroad will be the certain consequence. These observations will satisfy you that I have fulfilled your desire of perusing, with all the attention so important a consideration demands, the able and instructive statement which you have sent me.”

“Your pamphlet,” says Sir John Macpherson, late governor of Bengal, “has come forth most seasonably to prevent much mischief. The Bullion Committee ought to thank you for it, though they will not. They are not aware that the whole design

of the enemy is to strike at our public credit, and that our united and individual safety as freemen and men of property depends on its permanent stability. It is the grand heart-spring which, by its powers of circulation, keeps up the constitution and progress of civilisation, and the real bonds of the rights of nations."

"I have no doubt," says the Governor of the Bank of England (Mr Pearse), "I shall soon hear that your remarks have produced all the good effects the best wishers to the good of the country can desire."

I must once more make room for a short letter of Arthur Young :

"Dear Sir,

"I have read with great pleasure your most able and satisfactory refutation of the Committee. It is in my opinion unanswerable, and does great honour to the rapid application of your talents, ever ready to answer the spur of any occasion that demands the exertion. Mr Wakefield, who has been here some days, also thinks highly of your performance. He read the Report here, and is against them in every particular.

"I hope Government is assiduous in the distribution of your pamphlet. I have the honour to be, with much respect, your obliged and devoted

"ARTHUR YOUNG.

"Bradfield Hall, 17th Sept. 1810."

On the 6th of May, after Parliament had met, the Report of the Committee was taken into consideration, and resolutions embodying its principles were proposed by Mr Horner, in a speech of great eloquence and ability. The debate lasted four nights, when his resolutions were rejected by a large majority. The division on the sixteenth, and last resolution, for resuming cash payments within two years, was—ayes, 45 ; noes, 180. Majority, 135.

On the 13th May, Mr Vansittart moved a series of counter-resolutions, which occasioned a debate of two nights. The whole subject appeared to have been exhausted, when Sir John Sinclair rose and delivered a most effective speech, containing a variety of new arguments and illustrations. This was the last, of any consequence, he ever made in Parliament. Having already given a general view of the question, I shall not introduce any analysis of his reasoning, but content myself with one or two short quotations.

Referring to an invidious allegation that he had changed his mind upon the subject, and that, in a tract published so long ago as 1797, he had expressed anxiety to re-open the Bank of England for cash payments, “ It is absurd,” he says, “ to contend that the opinions of men, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, should be perfectly unalterable ; and that no change of circumstances, no further experience, no new and decisive facts, should make any impression on the mind of one anxious to ascertain the truth, and

open to conviction. My object *then* was to maintain a system which I thought had materially tended to promote the prosperity of the country; my object *now* is to maintain another system, which I am convinced has answered the public interest better, and if the honourable gentleman (Mr Whitbread) shall produce a *third* system that will promote the public interest more effectually than either, it will find a friend and advocate in me."

After some remarks on the effect of paper currency, not convertible into gold, he proceeds, "Perhaps the world never witnessed such a scene as Great Britain has lately presented; with the one hand we have been spreading cultivation over our own soil, and carrying on the commerce of the universe; whilst, with the other, we have fought successfully against the tyrant of the Continent, and all his millions of subjects. Our empire of the sea we have confirmed; we drove the French out of Egypt; Portugal has been rescued; the emancipation of Spain is, I trust, at no great distance; every possession belonging to the enemy, in both the Indies, has been subdued; and shall we throw away all these advantages, arising from abundant circulation (for on that they depend), and obtained during the reign of a paper currency not convertible into coin? Shall we dismiss a fleet that rules the ocean? Shall we disband an army, the terror of its opponents? Shall we destroy those resources, which, if properly applied, may yet humble

Napoleon to the dust? And shall we submit ourselves to a ferocious, and to a conquered enemy, merely to please a band of speculative politicians, the Midases of modern times, who wish to convert every thing they touch into gold; who seem to care but little what experiments they try with the prosperity of the country, provided they can gain a petty triumph, by effecting a reduction in the price of their favourite metal, or by diminishing, by a few groats or stivers, the rate of our exchange; who, contrary to the evidence that was brought before them, and in opposition to the knowledge and to the conviction of so large a proportion of their fellow-subjects, ventured to report to this House some months ago, that our currency was depreciated, and still persist in maintaining so groundless an assertion? But how does it appear that our currency is depreciated? Is it not received as value in all pecuniary transactions? Will it not procure every necessary, every comfort, and every luxury of life? With a sufficient quantity of notes of the Bank of England, cannot the holder of them purchase the most magnificent mansion-house that can be erected, with all its furniture and decorations? Or will they not be received in exchange for the finest, the largest, and the best-conditioned estate that the kingdom boasts of? And yet our currency is depreciated! Whence can have originated this perversion in the ideas of these modern Midases? With what delight would the Phrygian sage have witnessed the deliber-

ations of the Bullion Committee! His spirit must have inspired some of the weightiest and profoundest paragraphs in their massy report. I wish, most sincerely, that a dip in the Thames, the Tweed, or the Shannon, would prove as effectual a remedy for their metallic frenzies, as Midas found was the case when he was fortunately immersed in the waters of the Pactolus. I hope, at any rate, that we shall soon see an end put to these Phrygian doctrines, and to the Midasian system of the Committee."

Among numerous letters commenting upon this speech, I choose the following, from Sir N. W. Wraxall:

" Ramsgate, Tuesday, 18th June.

" It is impossible, my dear Sir John, as far as my judgment enables me to form an opinion, to have couched more, or more consolatory matter in fewer words than you have done in your speech before me. I have read it with equal satisfaction and information, and I am perfectly persuaded by the arguments and facts there adduced. They carry, indeed, with them irresistible reason. I am much obliged to you for sending it me, as it has renewed and confirmed the impression which the newspaper account of it first made on my mind. Ministers are not a little indebted to you for such support on such a point. Buonaparte will not like it. You should contrive, if possible, to

transmit an exemplaire to His *Imperial and Royal* Majesty for his private perusal.

“ Always your devoted and faithful servant,

“ N. W. WRAXALL.”

This speech was afterwards published at the request of Mr Vansittart, now Lord Bexley. It was, indeed, with unmixed satisfaction that my father always reflected upon his opposition to the Bullion Committee. Subsequent events confirmed him in his original views. “ If the panic in 1825,” he often said, “ had occurred in our struggle with Napoleon, Great Britain would now be a province of France.”

Early in the year 1811, the plan of issuing Exchequer bills to re-establish commercial credit was a third time resorted to, and with the same success as in the preceding instances. A letter from Mr Perceval is now before me, requesting Sir John to become one of the Commissioners. “ I am anxious,” says he, “ that this Commission should have, as far as it can, all the advantages which belonged to the former, and especially the benefit of that experience which the management of that Commission must have given to those who acted under it.” The sum voted was six millions, but a much smaller advance was sufficient to restore confidence.

As I am now approaching the conclusion of my father’s political life, I may remark, in this place, that

although I have referred in my preceding chapters to a variety of useful measures, promoted or introduced by him in the House of Commons, I have been able to bring forward a small portion only of the public business in which he was engaged. Perhaps the best idea of his activity as a senator may be gathered from the fact, that he took an active part, nearly at the same period (1806), in no less than eleven Parliamentary proceedings, namely, the Committee on Highways and Broad Wheels, the Catwater of Plymouth Committee, the Scotch Canal and Road Bill, the Scotch Forfeited Estates Bill, the Scotch Exchequer Committee Bill, the Draining Tile Bill, the Scotch Distillery Bill, the Nabob of Arcot's Bill, the Stage-Coach Bill, the Caithness Road Bill, and the Bell-Rock Lighthouse Bill.* Of the last-mentioned bill, he was requested to take charge in the Committee, owing to the illness of the Honourable Henry Erskine, then Lord Advocate of Scotland. Much opposition to the measure had been already offered, and more was apprehended; but Sir John had the satisfaction of presenting a highly favourable report :

* I perceive, that at one period Sir John held the following public situations : Commanding Officer of the Camp at Aberdeen, President of a General Court-Martial sitting there, Colonel of two regiments of Fencibles, a Director of the Bank of Scotland, Chairman of the British Wool Society, Lord Provost of the Royal Burgh of Wick, a Director of the British Fishing Society, Commissioner for the issue of Exchequer Bills, Member of Parliament for Caithness, and President of the Board of Agriculture.

no objection of any consequence was raised, and the bill passed without farther difficulty. To commemorate his services, in promoting this great national work, a portion of the reef was termed “the Ulbster ledge,” by Mr Stevenson the engineer.

I may also mention here a bill for a literary object, which Sir John was solicited to conduct through the House, the bill, namely, for the improvement of the Royal Institution. Indeed, whenever a society was to be formed for any useful purpose, literary, philosophical, or benevolent, it found in him a zealous and indefatigable promoter. At the busiest period of his life, he found time to take an active part in the establishment of two insurance companies, the Rock and the Globe, conceiving that individuals possessed of incomes for life had no sufficient means of providing for their families.

My father’s speech on the Bullion Question, as I have already noticed, was the last of any consequence delivered by him in Parliament. The vast expenses incurred during his political life, the rejection of his Indian claims, and the consequently embarrassed state of his private affairs, which attention to the public interest had led him to neglect, induced him to accept, in July 1811, the office of Cashier of Excise in Scotland—an appointment incompatible with a seat in the House of Commons. The emoluments of this office, in the days of his predecessor, Sir James Grant, had amounted to L.4000 a-year, but were reduced, in

the present case, to L.2000—a sum much smaller than the interest of the debt he had accumulated as President of the Board of Agriculture. This situation did not require much sacrifice of time, but the responsibility attached to it was considerable, on account of the large sums of money passing through the hands of the cashier.

Thus terminated my father's Parliamentary career, occupying a long, eventful, and singularly varied period of thirty years, during which both sides of the House had presented an array of talent hardly equalled, and never surpassed in any deliberative assembly. No member ever retired from the House after a more assiduous or more disinterested attention to his senatorial duties. His constant aim had been at once to promote internal improvement at home, and maintain the honour and influence of his country among foreign nations; to diminish the violence of party; and to unite, as nearly as possible, the combatants on either side, in strenuous exertions for the public good; to collect and diffuse useful information, to encourage ingenuity, and reward merit. In the attainment of these patriotic objects, he spared no pains; he cared for no expense; nor did he repine that the great influence which he occasionally enjoyed, instead of being exerted for self-aggrandisement, had been employed in promoting measures exclusively for the public good.

CHAPTER IV.

Education of his Family—Removal to Ham Common—Excursions to the Netherlands—Battle of Waterloo—Duke of Wellington—Sergeant Ewart—Emperor Alexander—Final Settlement at Edinburgh—Bullion Question Renewed—Late Sir Robert Peel—Free Trade—Mr Huskisson—Roman Catholic Emancipation—Archbishop Curtis—Bishop Doyle—Duke of Clarence—Parliamentary Reform—Earl Grey—Repeal of the Malt-Tax—Publication of Correspondence—Goethe—Code of Political Economy—Code of Religion—Last Visit to Caithness—George Quinton—Religious Life—Last Illness—Death—and Character.

I HAVE already mentioned, that my father, after his second marriage, resided in the Canongate at Edinburgh, and removed to the New Town after the death of my grandmother. Here he began gradually to enter upon the cares and duties which encompass the father of a numerous family. In 1811, he had seven sons and eight daughters. Notwithstanding the magnitude and variety of his pursuits, as an author and a senator, he entered with good-humoured cordiality into the little occupations and amusements of even his youngest children. The day of his arrival was looked for with the same lively anticipations in the nursery as in the drawing-room. He was much delighted when the young people invited their com-

panions to the house, and, on such occasions, contributed largely, by games of his own invention, to the happiness of the party.

In the education of his family, he pursued the plan usual at Edinburgh, and required them to attend public schools and classes while residing under the paternal roof, the proper place, as he conceived, for religious and moral instruction. He took a pleasure, beyond that of most fathers, in watching over the intellectual developements of his rising family, and encouraged the humblest of their juvenile exertions in any branch of literature. He gave prizes for the best letter addressed to him during his absence ; appointed subjects for essays, as well as occasionally for verses ; and patronised a family periodical, under the name of *The Spy*, which was read aloud every Saturday after breakfast. When a good thing was said, his custom was to reward the young speaker upon the spot with some substantial token of approbation. To direct attention at an early period to public affairs, as well as to form a habit of ready and fluent expression, he encouraged the formation of a miniature Parliament, in which the different parties at that time figuring in political history were characteristically represented, and all the forms and usages of St Stephens scrupulously observed. The journals of this "little senate" happen to be still extant ; and it is curious, in searching them, to observe, in 1809-10, the fortuitous anticipations of such measures as the

grand alliance against Napoleon, the American War, and the expedition to the North Pole. Here also the merits of public men, and especially of agriculturists, were discussed, and rewards voted them with a liberality unprecedented under the most lavish Administration.

An address, generally in verse, was for some time annually presented to him, containing a review of all his operations, agricultural and political, during the past year, with appropriate condolences and congratulations. Thus, the failure of his experiments in florin grass gave rise to some pathetic lamentations, while his success in turnip-husbandry, attested by a gigantic specimen, long preserved upon his table, called forth the most extravagant eulogiums. The framers of these addresses sometimes took the liberty of differing from him as to the details of farming, and the merits of agriculturists. They insisted, for example, that Sir Francis Kinloch, and not Mr Andrew Meikle, should have been rewarded as "the real inventor of the thrashing-machine," and voted a statue to their favourite, which was erected on a great scale opposite the window of the President's library, and reproached his partiality to Meikle nearly till the summer solstice.

The variety of my father's writings, and the number of copies which he occasionally required for circulation, afforded an employment more serious, though less amusing, than that of miniature legislation. All

by turns, and occasionally all at the same time, were his secretaries. Nor did he confine them to mere mechanical exertion, but received, with parental good-nature, the remarks even of his youngest amanuensis. I recollect that, in 1812, he was pleased, rather than offended with myself, when at the age of fourteen, I presented him with a formal series of objections to some positions he had just then published in a pamphlet, "on the State of the Nation."

In 1814 he left Edinburgh, and settled with his family for some years at a villa, to which he gave the name of Ormly Lodge, situated on Ham Common, near London. This change made no great alteration in his habits of life, except that it enabled him to reside more at home. An interesting account of him at this place is given by Mr Rush, the American Ambassador, in his memoirs, to the following effect :

" Sir John Sinclair's conversation was instructive and entertaining. He had the double fund, of a large mixture with the world, and with books, to draw from. Early rising became the topic. He thought it less conducive to health than was generally supposed, owing to the morning exhalations. He had heard of the robustness of the old Saxons, but he doubted if they were as powerful a race, physically, as the English of the present day ; and as to their going to bed at dark, and getting up with the dawn, that, he pleasantly said, was natural enough among a people ignorant of the art of making candles ! In the evening,

a number of visitors arrived from their neighbouring country seats, and pastimes followed, which were promoted and shared by Sir John, whose qualities in private life do not fall behind those that have made him known to his country as a public man and an author. In regard to his literary labours, I may add, that on asking the celebrated agriculturist, Mr Coke of Norfolk, what work might be consulted with most advantage on the agriculture of England, he replied, that he knew of none, by a private hand, better than Sir John Sinclair's.

“ In a conversation with Mr Vansittart, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, I asked him what work was regarded as containing the best account of the British finances. He said it was difficult to arrive at a knowledge of them from any single work ; but, on the whole, he considered Sir John Sinclair's, for the periods it embraced, as the most satisfactory. These are high testimonials.”

The peace of 1814 afforded Sir John Sinclair, in common with many other travellers, an opportunity of visiting the Continent. He was anxious to ascertain the relative prices of grain in Great Britain and the neighbouring parts of Europe ; the causes of any difference of price that might exist, and the means by which such difference, if material, might in future be prevented. He left London on the 23d of February 1815, landed at Ostend, and proceeded from thence to Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, and Breda. The

Flemings, at the time of his visit, were ignorant to what country the Congress of Vienna would unite them. This suspense was unfortunate, as it gave time for the partisans of France, England, Austria, and Holland, severally to declare themselves. On the way from Bruges to Ghent, Sir John heard that the Dutch party had triumphed, and that the Netherlands had been assigned to the House of Orange. "This arrangement," he says, "*may* answer, but will require address and management." He alluded soon after, in a large company, to the rejoicings when the new Sovereign was proclaimed; but a Frenchman angrily interrupted him, "No, sir, this Dutch King is not popular, the illumination was not *donné*, but *ordonné*; don't suppose that Holland and Flanders will be long united."

My father was much gratified to find that the government of the Netherlands had established the very laws, with respect to broad wheels, which he had so long exerted himself to introduce in England. "The Flemish regulations," he says, "appear to be taken from my report, as the chief decree upon the subject was published in 1806; yet, it is remarkable, that the common people term these broad wheels *Malbrouks*, from an idea that they were introduced by the great Duke of Marlborough."

On the 7th of March, having reached the banks of the Leck, on his way to Breda, he was detained by a gale of wind, which prevented the low boats, or barges of the country, from crossing. Here he spent

the evening alone at a wretched inn, and having leisure for a long train of serious reflection, he sketched out a paper, "On the Evidences of the Christian Faith," which he long afterwards matured into his projected "Code of Natural and Revealed Religion."

At the Hague he was presented to the King, and had a long conversation with him on the agriculture of his dominions. His Majesty was anxious for its improvement, and, strange to say, referred to Japan as the best cultivated of all countries. "I understand," he said, "from botanists, that hardly any plants are allowed to grow naturally in the whole empire; they are all sown, and exhibit, on a large scale, the results to be expected from laborious and systematic husbandry."

The traveller dined afterwards with his Majesty, and had the gratification of hearing one of the royal party speak enthusiastically of the Highland regiments, particularly the 78th, which had been quartered at Brussels. "Our people," said he, "parted with them in tears" (*pleurant*).

The Princess Dowager of Orange, to whom he paid a visit, reminded him of their old acquaintance; and the Duchess Dowager of Brunswick, her daughter, to whom he was presented, remembered having danced with him at a ball in Nimeguen, twenty-eight years before.

On the 11th of March, tidings reached the Hague of Buonaparte's escape from the Island of Elba, and

every day afterwards, crowds of English poured into Flanders, with the fear of Verdun before their eyes. It was fortunate for Sir John that, before this news arrived, he had made great progress in the business which induced him at such a crisis to visit the Netherlands.

By holding conversation with eminent agriculturists, by sending them queries, and by personally inspecting various farms, he obtained complete information with respect to most of the particulars distinguishing Flemish from British agriculture. He derived also valuable assistance from the Agricultural Societies of Bruges and of Ghent, from the intendant of the department of the Dyle, and from the Duke D'Ursel, Minister of the Interior, who despatched a circular to all the authorities under his jurisdiction, requiring them to procure for Sir John Sinclair every information he desired. The general result of his enquiries was a conviction, that although as respected agricultural machinery and live stock, the British farmer was incontestably superior to his Flemish competitor, yet the latter in some practical details of husbandry might afford the former many useful hints and suggestions. The Flemish farmers, for example, allowed their servants to live and board with them; they seldom or never permitted their land to lie fallow; they had several good agricultural implements unknown in England, particularly a scythe for cutting corn; they were more careful than the Bri-

ish farmer in collecting and importing materials to enrich their soil; they were more diligent in destroying weeds; they had discovered a variety of efficient processes for preventing maladies in corn; they contrived to raise flax without impoverishing the land; and they changed the seeds more regularly and systematically than we do in England. The Baronet on his return embodied his remarks in a large pamphlet, entitled, “Hints regarding the Agricultural State of the Netherlands compared with that of Great Britain.” The work excited much attention, as great ignorance and misconception had before prevailed in this country on the important subject treated of. The Dublin Farming Society became so anxious to have Flemish husbandry thoroughly investigated, that they employed Mr Radcliffe, author of the *Agricultural Surveys of Wicklow and Kerry*, to make a tour at their expense in the Netherlands, and publish the result of his researches. This intelligent observer continually refers in his report to the “Hints” of his predecessor, to whose diligence and accuracy of observation he takes every opportunity of doing justice.

Along with agricultural knowledge, Sir John brought home political information, which he communicated at an audience with Lord Castlereagh. He strongly urged the necessity of energetic measures, on the part of our Government, for the defence of that country; which was about to become

the theatre of new struggles, by Napoleon, for empire.

The founder of the Board of Agriculture saw strong evidence in the prosperous state of Flemish husbandry, to prove the superior stability of agricultural over commercial resources. Although Flanders had been for centuries the battle-field on which the contending potentates of Europe had tried the strength of their arms, the capital laboriously realized and wisely expended in the improvement of the soil, under the auspices of the Burgundian Princes, remained secure. This circumstance illustrated and confirmed the remark of my father's early master in Political Economy. "The ordinary revolutions of war and Government," says Adam Smith, "easily dry up the sources of that wealth which arises from commerce only; whereas that which arises from the more solid improvements of agriculture is much more durable, and cannot be destroyed but by those more violent convulsions occasioned by the depredations of hostile and barbarous nations, continued for a century or two together; such as those that happened for some time before and after the fall of the Roman Empire, in the western provinces of Europe."*

A few months afterwards, when the victory of Waterloo had restored the peace of the Continent, the Agricultural Baronet visited Flanders, to institute further enquiries respecting his favourite science, and

* Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Book III. Chap. iv.

to survey the great arena on which British valour had so recently triumphed. He was fortunate enough to secure the services of De Coster, the guide of Buonaparte on that memorable day, and received from him a variety of interesting details, which he resolved to publish. His method of securing accuracy in this military work, was the same which he so often and so successfully employed in his agricultural researches. He put a number of queries to his informant; took down the answers in writing, and reduced them to the form of a narrative. This narrative was afterwards read over carefully to De Coster, who suggested corrections, curtailments, or additions, and was taken finally to the different stations occupied by Napoleon during the battle, and there re-examined. I have now before me in different stages of advancement the very curious "Relation" thus drawn up.

Sir John, in the course of his journey, became acquainted with Baron Muffling, a Prussian General who fought in the battle, and was afterwards nominated Governor of Paris, during its occupation by the Allied army. The Baron had drawn up a complete account of the campaign, which he intended publishing in German only, but Sir John, conceiving that such an account by a Prussian officer of high rank might be acceptable in England, prevailed upon the General to appoint him editor of an English edition. The work gives a very luminous view of the numbers and

positions of the armies at the commencement of the campaign; details all the actions in which they were engaged; gives specific replies to eight objections brought against the generalship of the Prussian and English Commanders; and concludes with some interesting remarks on the peculiarities of the British soldiery. "In a battle," says the Baron, "there is not perhaps in Europe an army equal to the British, that is to say, none whose tuition, discipline, and whole military tendency is so purely and exclusively calculated for giving battle. On the other hand, there is no army in Europe less experienced in the *light and detached service* than the British; neither is this service much practised in that army. There is, no doubt, much to be envied in the possibility of forming a whole army in some measure as grenadiers; but on the other hand, should the British army be alone opposed to an able general, knowing its weak side, and knowing how to avoid giving battle, unless with very great advantage, it is unquestionable that by the neglect of one part of the art of war, the army must be greatly injured."

Sir John having had frequent opportunities in Flanders of communicating with French and English officers, in particular with Generals Excelmans and Gerard, and Baron Fressinet, procured from them information respecting the conduct of Marshal Grouchy, the behaviour of the Highland corps, the attack on La Haye Sainte, the defence of Hougomont, and

the organization of the French army. These authentic particulars, together with the official reports from the three armies engaged, he introduced in an Appendix to the Baron's work.

While securing a good Prussian account of that ever-memorable engagement, he was anxious that a British narrative of equal authority should be communicated to the public, and for this purpose wrote to the Duke of Wellington, urging him to supply that important desideratum. The answer of the Duke is an interesting document. His Grace appears much annoyed by numerous and hastily written sketches of the battle, got up from imperfect sources of information, to gratify the voracious curiosity of the British public, and condemns the extravagant exultation raised by this achievement, as unaccountable in a nation long accustomed to victory.

“ Bruxelles, April 28, 1816.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I have received your letter of the 20th. The people of England may be entitled to a detailed and accurate account of the Battle of Waterloo ; and I have no objection to their having it, but I do object to their being misinformed and misled by those novels called *Relations*, *Impartial Accounts*, &c. &c., of this transaction, containing the stories which curious travellers have picked up from peasants, private soldiers, individual officers, &c. &c., and have published to the

world as the truth. Hougomont was no more fortified than La Haye Sainte; and the latter was not lost for the want of fortification, but by one of those accidents from which human affairs are never entirely exempt.

“ I am really disgusted with and ashamed of all that I have seen of the Battle of Waterloo. The number of writings upon it would lead the world to believe that the British army had never fought a battle before; and there is not one which contains a true representation, or even an idea of the transaction; and that is because the writers have referred themselves to the authorities above quoted, instead of to the official sources and reports.

“ It is not true that the British army was unprepared; the story of the Greek is equally unfounded, as is that of Vandamme having 46,000 men. Upon this last point I refer you to Marshal Ney's Report, who, upon this point, must be the best authority. Ever, dear sir, yours most faithfully,

“ WELLINGTON.”

The Baronet, on his way home, reached Calais on the 27th of December. Here he met with the celebrated Sergeant Ewart of the Greys, whose gallantry in capturing a French eagle during the conflict was much spoken of in the army. He had slain three of the enemy in struggling for the trophy, but had received no reward. When Sir John asked him what

favour would be most acceptable, the brave fellow mentioned an ensigncy in a veteran battalion as the object he most desired. My father, accordingly, procured for him the commission from the Commander-in-Chief, and thus in a third instance obtained promotion for deserving soldiers.

In 1814, when the Allied Sovereigns visited Great Britain, Sir John Sinclair, on the 21st of June, had a private audience of the Emperor Alexander, at the Pulteney Hotel. "He was dressed," says my father, describing the interview, "in a green uniform; his countenance was open, pleasant, and good-humoured; his whole appearance manly and interesting. He did not seem the least affected by all the fatigues he had undergone, though I saw him the morning after the grand ball at White's. He understood English, and spoke it without hesitation, but preferred conversing in French.

"He said, on my entrance, that he was happy to make the acquaintance of one who had paid so much attention to agriculture. When I mentioned that I had once the honour of seeing his Imperial Majesty at St Petersburg, he asked if I should have known him now? To which I answered, 'That it was in the year 1786, twenty-eight years before, when he was only about nine years of age, and that the change since was very great.'"

After some conversation on hemp and flax, during which the Emperor indicated his patriotic interest in

these important branches of Russian industry, his Imperial Majesty made some enquiries regarding statistics. He expressed great interest in Sir John's investigations as to the climate of Scotland ; the extent of ground cultivated or uncultivated ; the number of acres under different crops, and the produce of each. He requested a copy of my father's Statistical Tables on these subjects ; adding, that he regretted his want of time to visit Scotland. He then adverted to the military achievements of Scotland, and pronounced a warm eulogium on the Scotch Greys, which celebrated corps had frequently attended him as his guard. " It is impossible," he said, " to have a finer body of men in any service."

The conference lasted about half an hour, and at the close of it the Emperor alluded to his disappointment that the shortness of his stay in England prevented him from paying to British husbandry the attention he desired, but added, that through his ambassador, Count Lieven, he would always receive with satisfaction agricultural communications from Sir John Sinclair.

The Baronet was apprehensive that the eagerness with which his countrymen on all occasions crowded round the Emperor, the King of Prussia, and their illustrious attendants, would degrade the English character in the eyes of Europe. " Foreigners," he observed, " will consider our excessive curiosity quite childish — an evidence of inferior understanding."

Warren Hastings, to whom he made this remark, took a very different view of the subject. He insisted that curiosity to see new sights and to acquire new ideas, was a decisive mark of superiority, both bodily and intellectual, in a nation. "I remember," said he, when I was going up the Ganges with great pomp as Governor-General of Bengal, the natives of the lower province, a dull and feeble race, breathing a humid and unwholesome atmosphere, hardly took any notice of us; but no sooner had we reached Bahar, an upland district occupied by a stout and manly people, than the banks of the river were crowded with the inhabitants; and at Patna, the capital, not a window, terrace, or balcony remained unoccupied while the fleet was gliding by."

On the Restoration of Louis XVIII., Sir John Sinclair's Highland enthusiasm led him to suppose that an opportunity had occurred for the institution of a Celtic corps in imitation of the Scottish guard, which, in ancient times, had served the French monarchs with so much courage and fidelity. He had no desire that his projected corps should be composed of Scotsmen, but wished it to be raised in Brittany and other provinces inhabited by the descendants of the ancient Celts, and to be clothed in some modification of the Highland dress. Such a guard would, he conceived, be more popular, and not less trustworthy than a regiment of Swiss. He communicated his idea in a letter to Marshal Macdonald, who,

after stating in his reply some objections to the plan, bursts forth into the following warm eulogium on the Scottish Highlanders :—

“ Les montagnards Ecossais sont connus par leur fidélité, leur courage, leur dévouement sans bornes : c’est une justice que l’on rend généralement au peuple intéressant dont je me fais gloire d’être le compatriote, et fier de les avoir imité dans la carrière que j’ai suivie. Je ne le suis pas moins de porter un nom, et d’appartenir à une famille qui de tout tems a été reconnue avec d’autres tribus des montagnes d’Ecosse pour l’élite des braves de cette nation généreuse et hospitalière autant que par ses sentiments élevés, la pureté de ses mœurs, et son rare et incomparable attachement pour le service de ses anciens maîtres.

“ J’ai en effet le dessein de réaliser le projet que je forme depuis long tems de visiter votre heureuse Angleterre, et je me flatte que j’obtiendrai la permission de l’effectuer l’été prochain, si les fonctions publiques que j’exerce en France n’y portent pas d’obstacles.

“ J’ai l’honneur d’être, Monsieur le Baronet, votre très humble, et très obeissant serviteur,

“ Le Maréchal Duc de TERENCE, Pair de France,
MACDONALD.”

TRANSLATION.

* The Scottish Highlanders are renowned for their fidelity, their courage, and their unbounded loyalty. This well-earned praise is universally bestowed upon that interesting race of

Some years elapsed before the Marshal found leisure for the excursion here referred to; but at length, in 1825, he paid a visit to the land of his ancestors, and gratified Sir John Sinclair by spending a day with his family at Edinburgh. In the evening a numerous party were assembled, most of whom, in compliment to the distinguished Celtic stranger, wore the Highland dress. Before taking leave he was requested by a young lady to enrich her scrap-book with a specimen of his autograph. He sat down at once, and with good-humoured readiness inscribed the following compliment to his hostess, in the style as well as language of his country:—"J'ai passé

people, whom I am proud to call my countrymen, and glory to have imitated in the career which I have followed. Nor do I feel less pride in bearing a name, and in belonging to a family, who, in common with the other Highland clans of Scotland, have at all times been acknowledged as the bravest among the brave of a generous and hospitable nation; and who are not less distinguished by their elevation of sentiment, their purity of morals, and their rare and incomparable attachment to the service of their ancient sovereigns.

I have now in view to realize my long projected plan of visiting your happy England, and am in hopes of obtaining permission to carry the design into effect this summer, if the public functions which I exercise in France offer no impediment.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your very humble, and very obedient servant,

The Marshal Duke of TARENTUM, Peer of France,
MACDONALD.

Paris, 19 Nov., 1814.

ce soir chez Ladi Sinclair, qui a fait les honneurs avec une grace parfaite—

“MARÊCHAL MACDONALD.”

In his Highland tour the Marshal was accompanied by the best possible cicerone, his fellow-clansman Macdonald of Staffa, (now Sir Reginald), who more than once delighted my father with a few graphic reminiscences of their adventures. On arriving at Inverness they proceeded to Culloden, where the Marshal became anxious to ascertain, by inspection of the field, why the brave Highlanders had on that memorable occasion been so completely routed and dispersed. Standing near the centre of the vast open plain, he first desired to be shown the ground occupied by the English, together with the position of their cavalry and artillery. He next asked where the Highland infantry were drawn up; and being shown their whole line, he enquired where their cavalry were stationed, and was answered that they had none. Startled at this reply, he instantly rejoined—“Where was their artillery?” Receiving the same answer, he struck his hand against his forehead, and exclaimed, “The generals were madmen; had they brought out these brave men on purpose to be butchered, they would have done exactly what they did. They would have led them into an open plain without cavalry and without artillery. Why not occupy the passes? With half the number of

these gallant fellows, I could have kept the English a whole year at bay."

At Houghbeg, in South Uist, two cousins-german of the Marshal, a son and daughter of his father's elder brother, were presented to him. They were natives of the island, in very moderate circumstances, and could not speak a word of French. He received them with great kindness, and immediately declared how much their short but animated features reminded him of his father. "I once doubted," he said, "whether the reports were true, that I had such near relations; but these are evidently my own cousins. I rejoice to see them; I would have come from France to visit this one island, the birth-place of my forefathers." Understanding that his newly-discovered cousins were not in affluence, he desired Staffa to inform them, that he settled a pension upon them—sufficient, in that country, for their comfortable support, and payable, during his life, on the anniversary of his landing upon the island. The answer of these simple-minded people, to this welcome communication, was delivered in a tone and manner so expressive, that the Marshal, though he did not understand a single word, was much affected by their warmth of gratitude, and drew out a sum of money, saying, "Life is short; my first payment shall be in advance." Before leaving South Uist, he made a pilgrimage to the cave of Corrodale, a place of great importance in his own history, since in that wild

retreat his father first became acquainted with Prince Charles, then an outlaw with a price upon his head, and acquired such an interest in his fortunes as to accompany him to France.

The Marshal afterwards visited Armidale castle in the isle of Skye, the seat of Lady Sinclair's brother, the late Lord Macdonald. The men of Skye understood that a great general on approaching their shores ought to be received with military honours, but were much distressed at having no artillery. Some improvements, however, which were going forward near the castle, suggested to them a good substitute for cannon. A considerable quantity of powder had been provided for blasting a long line of rock near the shore; the people bored above thirty holes of large dimensions, filled this battery with ammunition, and on the approach of their illustrious visitor, saluted him with loud huzzas, and a series of tremendous explosions. The Marshal was at first confounded at this unique salute, but afterwards pronounced it more acceptable than the most regular *feu-de-joie*.

In 1819, my father disposed of his villa on Ham Common, and purchased a house in George Street, Edinburgh, where he principally resided during the last fifteen years of his life. As his family was numerous, he took a passage by sea on board a sailing packet to Leith. During the voyage, his inquisitive mind suffered great annoyance from the difficulty he found in obtaining information as to the progress of

the vessel, and the objects to be seen from it along the shore. Resolving that future voyagers should not encounter the same inconvenience, he caused a small work to be drawn up, containing a chart of the coast, and a short description of the various rivers, islands, light-houses, towns, and harbours, by the way. This useful tract is known by the name of "Reid's Smack Directory."

The visit already mentioned, of Marshal Macdonald to Sir John's family, took place after their final settlement at Edinburgh. I may here also remark, that my father, on all occasions, took peculiar pleasure in the exercise of hospitality to strangers. To enumerate all the visitors he entertained from different quarters of the world would be tedious, and indeed impossible; as the list, to be complete, must contain the names of almost all foreigners of eminence who came to Scotland in his time. I may, however, mention Count Itterberg (formerly Crown Prince of Sweden), the Duke of Brunswick, Prince Schwartzenberg, the Persian Ambassador, Count Orloff, Marshal Bourmont, the Prince de Polignac, and the Duke de Bourdeaux.

Although Sir John continued to reside generally at Edinburgh, he made almost annual excursions to London. On these occasions his usual activity appeared, in the vast number of objects, public as well as private, to which his attention was directed, amounting, in one instance (1829), to no less than twenty-six, all

of them enumerated in a paper now before me, and all carried into effect within the short space of three months.

Among the circumstances which drew my father thus frequently to London, was the renewal of the Bullion Question. After the discomfiture sustained by the bullionists in 1811, they withdrew for a few years from the field, and allowed the paper system to continue unmolested till the peace of 1814, when they reassailed it with augmented vigour, and after a struggle of five years, gave it a complete, and, to all appearance, final overthrow. A variety of causes contributed to their success. They were a skilful, numerous, powerful, and, above all, united party; while their opponents were divided among themselves, as well as destitute of a parliamentary leader. Mr Pitt, the mover of the bank restriction act, had sunk under the fatigues of office. Mr Perceval, his successor, who entered thoroughly into his financial views, had perished by the hand of an assassin. Lord Liverpool, who occupied the place of these great statesmen, and who seemed the natural defender of the system established and approved by his predecessors, had an hereditary attachment to a metallic currency. Mr Huskisson had from the first been a decided bullionist. Mr Peel, unexpectedly, became a convert to the same theory. Other members of the Cabinet, overwhelmed by the difficulties of the question, would not take upon themselves the responsibility of oppo-

sing measures equally recommended by their colleagues and by their opponents. To the union of the great political parties which divided the country, were added the unanimous exertions of the periodical and daily press. The influence of reviews, magazines, and journals over the public mind is unbounded ; and almost all zealously inculcated opinions unfavourable to the paper system. As the Baronet strongly expresses himself, “ a kind of *delirium* arose in favour of a metallic currency. Those who supported an opposite system were stigmatized as ignorant and prejudiced men, deficient either in public zeal or common sense, and were almost treated as public enemies.”*

The chief arguments for the resumption of cash payments may be comprehended under three heads ; namely, that the measure was recommended by *justice*, by *policy*, and by the *facility* with which it might be effected. To the several arguments under each of these heads Sir John Sinclair gave, as he conceived, a complete and satisfactory refutation.

With reference to the alleged *justice* of resuming cash payments at the old standard, he admitted, that injustice had been done to all creditors, public as well as private, when the bank restriction act was originally passed ; but he remarked, that the sufferers from that act endured less hardship than might at first be imagined ; for they paid their own debts in the same de-

* See Thoughts on Currency, p. 42, and Cobbett's Parliamentary Register, vol. lxi. No. 24, 14th June, 1828.

preciated currency which they received; the debts due to them were paid with greater certainty; the price of stocks rose considerably; and above all, the act by which they suffered was indispensable to the public safety; they lost, indeed, a portion of their property, but the loss was necessary to the preservation of the remainder.

Granting, however, that injustice was done to the original creditors in 1797, how could restitution be made to them by a bill in 1819 for the resumption of cash payments? Very few of them, after the lapse of above twenty years, were likely to be either holders of stock, annuitants, or mortgagees; and it would be a strange kind of moral dealing, to make up for robbing one man by giving a large present to another.

But the proceeding would be worse than absurd; it would be a new robbery. For the old metallic standard, from disuse, had become antiquated and obsolete; it had neither been considered by the nation in borrowing, nor by the national creditor in lending money; still less had it been taken into account by debtors and creditors in private life. On the contrary, had a great and indefinite change in the value of money been known to be impending, monetary transactions could hardly have been carried on at all. The stipulation, therefore, for payment in the precious metals at the old standard, if actually made, became eventually nullified by universal oblivion. For a creditor to insist upon receiving from his debtors

thirty or forty per cent more than had been advanced, under pretence of a deed which both parties had never heard of, or had wholly overlooked, would be the extremity of injustice. "It is a general principle," argues Sir John, "founded on an old and just maxim, *Nemo debet locupletari aliena jacturâ*," that all loans should be paid in money of the same value with the money lent. In France the principle of payments in *argent au cours de jour*, is well known; and there is a striking instance of such a plan having actually been carried into effect in Scotland, in a case exactly similar. By an act passed in the third Parliament of James III. of Scotland, anno 1467, entitled, 'The manner of Debts and Contracts paying,' after declaring that any variations made in Parliament by an alteration of money, are for the common good of the realm, it is enacted, 'That all debtors that owe any debts of contract, shall pay to their creditors the same sums *in substance* as were intended between them before the making of the act.' No principle could be more equitable with respect to transactions either between individuals or with the Government." * In corroboration of these views, Sir John, alluding to Adam Smith's definition of a guinea as being "a bill for a certain quantity of the necessaries and conveniencies of life, upon all the tradesmen in the neighbourhood," puts the question, would it be just to write on such a bill a larger quantity of

* See Thoughts on Curreney, Introduction, p. 7.

necessaries and conveniencies than the original amount, and then demand the full payment?

After all, however, who were the parties urging this unjust demand? Was it made by the creditors themselves, or was it only made for them by the bullionists? Were creditors joining in a conspiracy to exact the uttermost farthing from their debtors? Were they, with the rigour and pertinacity of Shakspeare's Jew, carrying their bond before Parliament, and insisting upon their pound of gold? Were they answering every argument from equity or mercy for an abatement of their claims, in the stubborn words of Shylock,—“ I crave the law—I stand here upon my bond—I will not hear thee speak—I'll have my bond?” Quite the contrary—no claim whatever of this kind was made. As creditors had not complained in 1797, when the Bank was shut against them, so neither were they now petitioning to have its doors reopened. They dreaded the unjust and injudicious measure recommended for their benefit. They were alarmed at the misguided zeal of their professed friends. They suspected that their debts, in case the bullionists prevailed, instead of being paid in a depreciated currency, would not be paid at all. Accordingly, not one petition had been presented for the resumption of cash payments, whereas several, and those from most respectable quarters, lay on the table of the House against it.

To the argument that the resumption of cash pay-

ments was recommended by sound *policy*, and that the paper system, as established by the restriction act, could not be permanent, Sir John replied, that a paper currency, not convertible into gold, and at the same time not issued by the Government, which would probably abuse the trust, but by a great responsible corporation, was a discovery of inestimable value, made indeed accidentally, but in its results more salutary than the most elaborate contrivances of political sagacity. Such a currency expanded or contracted itself according to the necessities of trade ; it rendered the country independent of foreign nations for the medium of circulation ; it was not liable to be hoarded or exported ; it saved the vast expense arising from the purchase, as well as from the wear and tear of a metallic currency ; nay, instead of an expense, it might be turned by means of a stamp duty upon notes into a valuable source of revenue.* These advantages of a paper circulation we might continue peaceably to enjoy ; but if we resolved to have a currency in coin, and to import for that purpose twenty or thirty millions of the precious metals, we should thereby subject our neighbours to embarrassments which would react upon our own commercial credit, and provoke them to retaliate by hostile tariffs and prohibitions upon the authors of their calamities.

* See Observations submitted to the Select Committee of both Houses, in 1819, pp. 6-17.

When the bullionists expatiated on the great fluctuations in the home market, the gluts and stagnations, the failures and panics which had recently occurred, Sir John replied, that these were owing to the preliminary measures taken by the Government and the Bank for the abandonment of the very system to which they were most illogically ascribed. The currency was first contracted that the exchanges might become favourable, and it was afterwards expanded, that the mischievous effects of this contraction might be remedied. As for the failure of country banks, and the nonpayment of country notes, this was not an evil necessarily connected with the paper system. Why had not security been exacted from the banks, as Sir John himself for upwards of twenty years had urgently recommended? And why was the number of parties so absurdly limited in England, and the general credit of the monetary system sacrificed to the supposed interests of a single corporation? In Scotland, where a healthier banking system prevailed, scarcely a single failure had taken place, and in every case of failure but one the notes had ultimately been paid in full.* As regarded the assertion that the paper system had a constant tendency

* I may mention as examples the Ayr Bank, the Merchant Bank of Stirling, the East-Lothian Bank, and the Union Bank of Falkirk. These are noticed by Sir Walter Scott as the only instances of failure within his knowledge. See *Letters of Malachi Malagrowther*.

to produce further depreciation, Sir John insisted that nothing could be easier than for Parliament to limit so effectually the issues both of the Bank of England and the country banks, as to maintain prices nearly at their existing level. L.50,000,000, for example, might for a long period be the maximum of paper in circulation. Nor, finally, was there the smallest ground for those melancholy predictions with which the advocates of a gold currency were continually endeavouring to alarm the public mind. The same evil surmises, the same prophecies of plagues had been annually repeated for almost a quarter of a century ; but experience had annually refuted them, and would continue to refute them, while a well-regulated paper system was suffered to remain.

Having thus disposed of the arguments deduced from *justice* and from *policy*, he endeavoured to disprove the alleged *facility* of resuming cash payments. The bullionists calculated that the advantages of what they termed a sound and wholesome currency, might be acquired at the cost of a very small inconvenience, and that prices would only fall to the extent of five or six per cent. But Sir John contended that the fall of prices would be far greater, and that instead of suffering a very small inconvenience, the country would be exposed to the most formidable calamities. The difference between the market price of gold and the Mint price had amounted, in 1811, to 15 per cent, and it had since

increased to 30 or 40 per cent ; but even this was not the whole effect produced by the bank restriction act ; for gold itself, in consequence of being disused in our great emporium of commerce, had fallen in value. Many foreign states also during the war had adopted a paper currency, a circumstance tending still further to depreciate gold bullion. In fact, the only way to ascertain what would be the scale of prices after the bank was opened, would be to ascertain the scale of prices before its doors were closed. During ten years previous to the war, wheat, for instance, had averaged between 34 and 48 shillings, and it had risen during the war to between 58 and 90 shillings ; other articles also had risen nearly in the same proportion. On the restoration, therefore, of the old standard, a corresponding fall of prices would be unavoidable. Where, then, was the *facility* so much boasted of ? Was it *easy* for the landlord to reduce his rents from 40 to 50 per cent, while all the debts and charges on his estate remained the same ? Was it *easy* for the manufacturer to trade, perhaps for years, upon a falling market till the price of all his goods was reduced to one-half ? And, above all, was it *easy* for the nation to bear an increase of from 60 to 80 per cent on the actual pressure of taxation, and to pay the national creditor in a currency enhanced * to nearly twice its value ?

* Dr Johnson defines enhancement :—“ Augmentation of

In the room of a plan liable to such strong objections, Sir John recommended a system, which, as he conceived, would combine all the advantages of a metallic with those of a paper circulation. He advised that the bank restriction act should be continued, not for one year only, but for eight or ten years, or until peace should be permanently established; till the rate of exchange should have been for three years decidedly in our favour; and till the national debt was reduced to 364 millions—its amount when the suspension took place. To prevent the failure of country banks, he urged his favourite plan, that they should be required to give security for their issues, and that large joint stock corporations should be substituted for small companies, whose stability was so precarious, and their failures so widely destructive.* To prevent, moreover, all further depreciation of the circulating medium, he proposed that the whole amount of paper currency should be limited to fifty millions, one half to be issued by the Bank of England, and the other half by the country banks. Lastly, as a source of revenue, he proposed that a stamp duty upon notes should be levied to the amount of two hundred thousand a-year, to be employed in the internal improvement of the country.

value—*aggravation of ill.*” As applied to money, this was, as my father would have said, a singularly happy definition.

* “I am favourable to a system of banking in this country similar to that which prevails in Scotland.”—*Letter from David Ricardo, Esq., 25th March, 1823.*

While Sir John proposed this plan as the best which in his judgment could be adopted, he nevertheless apprehended that the strong prejudices of the public against the paper system could not be resisted, and that a metallic currency of some kind would inevitably be established. He recommended, therefore, that if gold (as the committees of both Houses advised), were made exclusively the standard, the Mint price should be approximated to the market price during the war ; to L.5, for instance, so as to prevent or lessen the fall in the prices of commodities. But he entirely disapproved of gold as an exclusive standard. He was of opinion with Locke, that “ gold was not the money of the world, or general measure of commerce, nor fit to be so.” * Silver had great advantages over gold : silver was the standard of all nations, recommended by immemorial and universal prescription. It was indispensable for the smaller payments ; it was less liable than gold to be hoarded or melted down ; its wear and tear was less than that of gold ; it was continually falling in price compared with its rival metal ; it was less subject to fluctuation ; and, lastly, less liable in time of war to be exported ; since gold, being indispensable for the military chest, would of necessity be sent abroad, to the great embarrassment of the country, in the event of general hostilities.

* Locke's *Further Considerations concerning Raising the Value of Money*, Pp. 75, 76.

But our financier, continuing his argument, remarked that there was no necessity for choosing either gold or silver exclusively as a standard. On the contrary, from the reign of Edward III. till the 14th of George III. a joint standard of gold and silver prevailed in England; during the whole of which period, according to the first Lord Liverpool, no objection had been made to that currency. In France and Holland also, and indeed in every country where the currency was free, a double standard was established. He thought it strange, therefore, that when the wisdom of our ancestors had rested the stability of the monetary system upon these two pillars, one of them should be wantonly thrown down. He therefore proposed that the Mint price of silver should be raised to eight shillings per ounce, and that silver jointly with gold should be the standard of value.

When the bill which he so strenuously opposed had passed into a law, and when cash payments were resumed, Sir John Sinclair laboured no less strenuously for its repeal. From year to year, according to the different changes in the aspect of the question, he put forth a series of pamphlets, under various designations, such as "Thoughts on the Agricultural and Financial State of the Country," "On the Means of Arresting the Progress of National Calamity," "On Circulation and Coin," "On the Approaching Crisis," "Remarks on a Speech by the Earl of Liver-

pool," " On the Report of the Bank Committee," " The Creed of Improved Circulation," " Thoughts on Currency," " On the Causes of our National Distresses," " A Plan for Re-establishing the Power and Prosperity of the British Empire," " Defence of the Landed and Farming Interest," " The Late Prosperity and Present Adversity of the Country, Explained in a Correspondence with Thomas Attwood, Esq." " Plan of a Currency, Calculated for the Existing Circumstances of this Country."

In proportion, as the event realized his worst forebodings, and, especially after the panic in 1825, our indefatigable projector was astonished that the public did not profit by the painful lesson forced upon them, and that no attempt was made by Parliament to remove the obvious causes of such intolerable evils; but that, on the contrary, the chief remedy proposed, the abolition of one pound notes, was calculated to prolong and aggravate the misery which it was designed to remedy. He was amazed at the inadequate, the contradictory, and sometimes even visionary causes, to which a great and general distress was sophistically attributed. A universal fall of prices was ascribed to circumstances which could only bring down the price of certain articles. The bullionists spoke of over population as coexisting with over production, thus preposterously maintaining that there was too much food and clothing in the country, and at the same time too many people to be fed and clothed; they

were never able to perceive that the actual root of the evil was deficiency in the means of *distribution*.

His activity and zeal were quickened by the reflection, that every day made a return to the paper standard more difficult, and that much delay would render it impracticable. The paper standard was gradually falling into disuse, and a larger portion of contracts becoming regulated by the metallic standard. To the question what can now be done? his answer was—"Let statesmen do what is uniformly done by prudent men in other professions. Let them retrace their steps. If a physician has mistaken the disease of his patient, and finds him getting worse, does he not change his system? If a general has got into a defile, where, if he perseveres in an attempt to force a passage, his army must be ruined, does he not retreat? Why, then, should statesmen think themselves above the possibility of error, and adhere to a law, which, although enacted with the best intentions, is found by experience to be fraught with the most mischievous consequences?"

Notwithstanding the strong language which he occasionally used in describing the prospects of the country, my father did not at any time give way to despondency. He hoped that various unforeseen circumstances would modify and alleviate the deep and lasting miseries he anticipated. He frequently repeated the maxim of Adam Smith already noticed, that there is "a great deal of ruin in a nation."

Among the chief discouragements he experienced, was the insurmountable reluctance prevalent among men of rank and influence, to concern themselves at all about a subject so obscure and so repulsive as that of bullion. The late Marquess of Hertford candidly declared that he “pinned his faith upon the home-secretary” (Mr Peel) “and Lord Liverpool;” and had made up his mind not to “dabble in theories himself.” On receiving certain queries from Sir John as to currency, the celebrated Richard Arkwright acknowledged himself “inadequate” to the task of giving any answer, but kindly promised, that “if he were ever bold enough to hazard an opinion upon any one of them, he would take the liberty of troubling Sir John Sinclair by stating his sentiments.” This conditional promise, as I suspect, never was fulfilled. No man knew better than Mr Arkwright how an individual might acquire wealth, but he could not be prevailed upon to study “the Wealth of Nations.”

Although very little impression could be made upon the English public, except among the intelligent manufacturers of the midland counties,* Sir John obtained considerable countenance and support to his views of currency in Scotland. The country rose as one man in defence of its own banking-system, threatened with destruction by the English bullionists in 1826. At that critical juncture, he published a tract

* This was owing chiefly to the zeal, energy, and perseverance of Thomas Attwood, Esq. now M.P. for Birmingham.

“ On the Paper Circulation of Scotland, proving that the success of the banking-system in that country depends on the circulation of small notes.” He found an able and efficient coadjutor in his friend Sir Walter Scott, whose letters, under the signature of Malachi Malagrowther, made a great impression on the public mind. He afterwards prevailed upon a number of Scottish counties to unite in a petition to Parliament, for the adoption of silver as a standard jointly with gold—a measure by which the pressure of the metallic standard would have been considerably diminished.

My father's correspondence at this time is as gloomy as it is voluminous, amounting to hundreds of letters, in which every term in the nomenclature of human misery and alarm is to be found. Members of both Houses, country bankers, landed proprietors, and farmers vie with one another in their descriptions of the distress and embarrassment around them. One writer deplores the insanity of Parliament; a second, the obstinacy of Ministers; a third, the apathy; and a fourth, the turbulence of the people. Some correspondents describe credit as beginning to totter; others speak of it as already fallen. Some grieve over the decay of agriculture, and paint, in the darkest colours, the poor-rates swallowing up the rents, the fields left without tillage, and the auctioneer, amidst general ruin, becoming rich from his numerous sales of sequestered farm produce. Others, finally, anticipate

that the future will exceed in horrors even the past or the present, and represent the country hurrying forward with terrific speed towards a precipice that will engulf it for ever.

“Parliament,” says Mr Pearse, formerly Governor of the Bank of England, “seems to have gone wild upon this measure” (the resumption of cash-payments), “and will not, I fear, come to its right senses in due time.”

The clever, but eccentric head of Lincoln College, Oxford, Dr Tatham, after remarking that “nothing but plenty of currency could save the country from ruin,” and that “what was borrowed in paper should be paid in paper,” thus characterises the government of Lord Liverpool. “A great minister, at this critical juncture, might make this nation great; a little minister will make it little.” *

Earl Stanhope blames Sir John for having inadequately represented in his pamphlets the actual distress of the country. “I would take the liberty of observing,” says his Lordship, “that it might be proper to state *still more strongly* the consequences of a perseverance in the present system, which I agree with you in thinking may produce a convulsion. Attwood is also of opinion, that if this present system is continued, ‘all the elements of society will immediately explode.’ The danger to which the country

* Letter, dated Lincoln College, 3d March, 1818.

is exposed cannot be too forcibly, or too fully represented, and it is necessary to alarm the nation, in order to rouse it from its present apathy.”*

Mr Western, then member for Essex, is not more consolatory than Earl Stanhope.

“ 35, South Street, March 4, 1830.

“ My dear Sir John,

“ I am sorry to say there is no disposition on the part of Ministers or *Whigs* to give way upon currency, and the country is getting into a most FRIGHTFUL state. I never was an alarmist, but I confess at this moment the prospect is to me terrific. The people are (naturally enough) throwing off all respect for authority, and looking only to beat down institutions of every kind, to despoil property, and to crush the higher ranks. *Quos vult Deus*, &c. &c. &c.

“ Yours, C. C. WESTERN.”

Lord Erskine, as might be expected, mixes jocularly with his gloomy vaticinations. “ I fear,” says he, “ that the proprietors of the soil, by their long acquiescence, have ruined themselves. They are sacrificed to other interests. Unless Lord Liverpool change his measures, the House of Peers will soon be the house of paupers. I never myself have been able to feel the important deterioration of bank paper.

* Letter, dated March 1822.

As far as regards myself, I have rather had to lament a diminution in the *number*, than in the *value* of bank notes."

Among Sir John's most voluminous correspondents upon currency was that acute lawyer and experienced politician, the late Lord Redesdale, from whose letters I extract the following very curious prediction :—" The present system seems to me likely to produce a continual change in the relative values of agricultural produce and money, a continual depression of the agricultural interest, and finally general distress, and a total subversion of the British constitution, founded and dependent as it is on landed property. In truth it seems to me to lead directly to Radical reform, revolution, and all the evils which Radical reform has produced in France and is now producing in Spain. The destruction of the landed proprietors will lead to the same results as in France, where it was followed, as was *foretold*, by the destruction of the monied proprietors, and of commerce and manufactures, till a military despotism operated a counter revolution, and paved the way for the restoration of quiet and order, and of a government which, though not good, is preferable to any thing which for many years has existed in France, but far inferior to that which at present exists in this country."*

* Letter, dated Nov. 28, 1822.

I shall here add two letters on the subject, from the late Sir Robert Peel, one of my father's most valued friends, whom he considered a man of sound judgment and real patriotism. It is curious to perceive, from this correspondence, how opposite were the sentiments of father and son on the important subject of currency :—

“ My dear Sir,

“ Your maxims, being drawn from a knowledge of the Constitution and circumstances of Great Britain, command my warm approbation ; and as they cannot be weakened by the powers of reason, they are of too much importance to suffer from the attacks of prejudice under the influence of party feelings.

“ I think with you, that our success as a nation depends in a great measure on arrangements as little connected with other nations as possible ; and as we possess, in an ample degree, the means of comfort and independence amongst ourselves, care should be taken to avoid a concurrence not in the power of the country to control.

“ Why should gold be the only standard of value in governing our domestic intercourse, after, as you with propriety observe, in times of the greatest difficulty, when the energies of the empire sustained and raised us to the pinnacle of glory, without the aid of gold, in carrying on our domestic concerns, to an extent much greater than at any former period of our history ?

“A change from a circulating medium, created at home, to one of foreign extraction, liable to great fluctuations, must, in the event, cripple our domestic concerns, and have a tendency to destroy, what must ever be of vital consequence, national confidence. Gold will ever be duly appreciated in our commercial dealings with foreign nations, but if legal payments are to be confined to the precious metals, or, as the law prescribes, to gold, and protection is to be withdrawn from the Bank of England, regardless of the importance and utility of Mr Pitt’s measure, the want of an available circulating medium, uncontrolled by other powers, will unavoidably cramp the powers of industry, and entail distress on a great proportion of our large population.

“This unhappy state of things was foreseen and foretold by many persons, and if the measures of government are persevered in, our misfortunes, which are already grievous, will be only in their infancy. I am, my dear sir, yours truly,

“ROBERT PEEL.

“Tamworth, January 19, 1820.”

From Sir Robert Peel.

“My dear Sir John,

“Your esteemed favour of the 8th inst. was delayed by its being sent to Market Drayton. I very much fear you have not been able to incline our Government to take the same view of our currency as yourself.

My reason for addressing men in power arose from a persuasion that the subject had not been duly examined. I considered our distress not to arise from over trading and wild speculation, but from a want of confidence, *generated by the existence of unsound paper money*. To found any proceeding on the impression made on the minds of the Cabinet, might plunge the country into increased embarrassment. The effort made by Scotland to adhere to a tried and successful currency, does you much credit; and if any attempt should be made to make well better, which is not likely, it would not redound to the credit of our rulers. We may, by communicating our sentiments, have some of our suggestions adopted; but I fear no set of men would be commissioned to adapt a circulating medium to our circumstances. I am, dear Sir John, your faithful and obedient servant,

“ ROBERT PEEL.

“ Drayton Manor, 27th April, 1826.”

Nor was it merely with the supporters of his own views that Sir John Sinclair corresponded on the subject of currency. Among his papers are a variety of communications from the most distinguished advocates of the bullion system; from Mr Huskisson, Mr Ricardo, Mr Tooke, Mr Gladstone of Liverpool, Mr Pascoe Grenfell, Mr Kirkman Finlay, and even from the present Sir Robert Peel. To the honour of the last mentioned statesman it should be men-

tioned, that although Sir John openly described the bill which goes under his name, as *fons et origo malorum*, he always treated his father's friend with hereditary regard. The following letter may be given as an example :—

“ London, Nov. 8, 1819.

“ My dear Sir John,

“ I have received your note, and the accompanying publication, which I have read attentively, and for which I beg you to accept my thanks.

“ I am sorry we differ so much on the important subject to which it refers; but you are not one of those who permit differences on public matters to influence their private feelings towards those who have so long been on terms of friendly intercourse as I have been.

“ I have no thoughts of publishing my speech on the resumption of cash payments, as I fear I should only be adding another drop to that ocean of pamphlets in which Voltaire says, speaking of another subject, truth is apt to be drowned. Believe me ever, my dear Sir John, very truly yours,

“ ROBERT PEEL.”

Nearly connected with the question of currency was that of free trade, upon which also Sir John Sinclair differed from the majority of his cotemporary economists. He agreed with Dr Adam Smith, in

the general principle that trade should be unfettered; but, like him, he thought that the application of this principle should be slow and cautious, and should proceed upon a comprehensive survey of existing circumstances. He deprecated the rashness of Mr Huskisson and his disciples; their contempt for vested interests; their indifference to the misery of individuals driven from one branch of industry to another; and their anti-national temerity in desiring to import foreign corn, in order to export British manufactures, thus rendering Great Britain dependent on foreign nations for the most essential article of food. He complained that modern economists had not studied accurately the works of those great masters, of whom they boasted themselves the followers. He pointed out to them, in the writings of the economic fathers, numerous warnings against rashness and precipitation even in applying the best theories. He quoted various high authorities, whose opinions no judicious statesman would venture to disregard, as demonstrating the paramount necessity of moderation and circumspection in intermeddling with the complicated interests of society when arrived at a highly artificial state. "So unfortunate," says Adam Smith, "are the effects of all the regulations of the mercantile system, that they not only introduce very dangerous disorders into the state of the body politic, but disorders which it is often difficult to remedy without occasioning, for the time at least, still greater disor-

ders.” To the same effect he elsewhere adds ; “ The man whose public spirit is prompted altogether by humanity and benevolence, will respect the established powers and privileges even of individuals ; but still more of the great orders and societies into which the state is divided. Though he should consider some of them as in some measure abusive, he will content himself with moderating what he cannot annihilate without great violence.” He farther adds, “ He” (the economical reformer) “ will religiously observe, what by Cicero is justly called the divine maxim of Plato, ‘ never to use violence to his country no more than to his parents.’ ”

The following passage to the same effect was from the writings of David Hume. “ In all cases it must be advantageous to know what is most perfect in the kind ; that we may be able to bring any real constitution or form of Government as near it as possible, by such *gentle alterations and innovations* as may not give too great disturbance to society.”

From the pages of Dugald Stewart the following still more pointed warnings were adduced. “ Such,” says he, “ are the liberal principles which ought to direct the commercial policy of nations, and of which it ought to be the great object of legislators to facilitate the establishment. In what manner the execution of the theory should be conducted in particular instances, is a question of a very different nature, and to which the answer must vary in different coun-

tries according to the different circumstances of the case.” Again, “These cautions are peculiarly necessary, because the unlimited freedom of trade is extremely apt, by flattering the indolence of the statesman, to suggest to those who are invested with absolute power, the idea of carrying the theory into immediate execution.” And once more, “Such theories ought to be considered merely as the ultimate objects at which the statesman ought to aim; the tranquillity of his administration, and the immediate success of his measures, depend on his good sense, and his practical skill; and his theoretical principles only enable him to direct his measures steadily and wisely, to promote the improvement and happiness of mankind, and to prevent him from being ever led astray from these important ends by more limited views of temporary expediency.”

One foreign economist was added to these British authorities. “Nothing is more adverse to the tranquillity of a Statesman,” says the author of the *éloge* on Colbert, “than a spirit of moderation, because it condemns him to perpetual observation, shows him every moment the insufficiency of his wisdom, and leaves him the melancholy sense of his own imperfection, while, under the shelter of a few general principles, a systematical politician enjoys a perpetual calm. By the help of one alone, that of a perfect liberty of trade, he would govern the world, and would leave human affairs to arrange themselves at

pleasure under the operation of the prejudices and the self-interests of individuals. If these run counter to each other, he gives himself no anxiety about the consequence; he insists that the result cannot be judged of till after a century or two shall have elapsed. If his cotemporaries, in consequence of the disorder into which he has thrown public affairs, are scrupulous about submitting quietly to the experiment, he accuses them of impatience. They alone, and not he, are to blame for what they have suffered; and the principle continues to be inculcated with the same zeal and the same confidence as before."

Among my father's correspondents upon currency and agriculture was the late Mr Huskisson, with whom, notwithstanding the decided opposition of their speculative views, he always maintained a friendly intercourse. On one occasion Sir John wrote to him that he had found a new authority against the system of free trade in corn. While attending divine service he had heard a chapter read, from which economists of the modern school might derive a valuable lesson. In the book of Acts, the sacred historian relates that King Herod was much displeased with the people of Tyre and Sidon, but that the latter, apprehensive of the consequences, made Blastus the King's chamberlain their friend, *because their country was nourished by the King's country*. "From this history," he observed, "you may learn the danger of depending on foreign na-

tions for a supply of food. Would you reduce the people of Great Britain to the humiliating necessity of supplicating foreign Ministers, in order to preserve themselves from starvation?" By the next post the laconic answer was returned by Mr Huskisson, "that not the authority of Blastus, nor of all the chamberlains who had held the golden key from his time downward, would shake his confidence in the principles of free trade, or induce him to prevent the import of foreign grain."

I have now explained at some length my father's opinions on the two great questions of currency and free trade in corn. His whole views were embodied in a favourite maxim, *that every country wishing to be happy at home, or respected abroad, should endeavour to be independent of foreign nations for circulation and food.* This maxim pervades all his later writings on agriculture and currency. He laboured, indeed, with but limited success, to bring it into operation; but was convinced that sooner or later it would be generally acknowledged as a first principle in economic legislation.

The political history of the revered subject of these memoirs is now brought nearly to a conclusion. Three great questions, however, in which he took an active interest, remain to be briefly noticed:—Roman Catholic Emancipation, Reform in Parliament, and the Repeal of the Malt Tax.

The interest which Sir John Sinclair took in the

welfare and tranquillity of Ireland showed itself at a very early period of his political career. About the year 1782 he became intimate with the well-known Father O'Leary, and kept up a correspondence with him on the leading topics of that day. The reverend Father sent Sir John on one occasion a copy of his works, accompanied by an epistle now before me, in which he threatens to write a history of the then recent anti-Popish riots under Lord George Gordon. The answer to this threat recommended to the angry and clever, but not impracticable priest, the policy of conciliatory rather than intemperate measures, and conjured the agitator to suppress his publication. "What would you say," asks my father, "to the announcement of a Protestant history of the Irish massacre?"

His work upon the Revenue of the British Empire, which, in its place, I have already described, led him to enquire minutely into the resources of Ireland; brought him into communication with the most eminent Irish statesmen, and impressed indelibly upon his mind the importance of tranquillizing a country so miserably backward, and at the same so capable of advancement. He frequently intended making a tour of the "Green Island," to promote statistical enquiries, and to awaken, if possible, a spirit of agricultural enterprise throughout that fertile portion of the empire. But though he received the most cordial invitations from influential persons

of all parties, various circumstances prevented the execution of his design. In 1810, his acquaintance with Lord Fingal, a Roman Catholic nobleman, at that time resident in Edinburgh, led him to discuss the question of emancipation. A plan grounded upon mutual concession by the Protestant and the Romanist was arranged with his Lordship, which Sir John meant to bring forward in the House of Commons, till he ascertained that other propositions for the same object were more likely to receive support. In 1819, he corresponded on the subject with Mr Grattan, to whom he suggested the propriety of suspending from year to year the penal laws, as in the case of Dissenters, and thus admitting Roman Catholics to a probationary enjoyment of political power. He conceived that the religious jealousies which divided these two parties, and the precarious tenure of their privileges would prevent them from uniting to disturb the peace of the country by a demand of further concessions. When Irish agitation began to be regularly organized, when a Catholic Association was formed, and a Catholic rent collected, he was of opinion, that either some legislative settlement of the question must be effected, or civil war must follow. He renewed, therefore, his former proposition, transmitted it to leading men on both sides, and recommended, at the same time, that a permanent and compulsory commutation of tithes should immediately be enacted upon the plan adopted

by Charles the First in Scotland : that a provision should be made by Government for the Roman Catholic clergy : that public money should be advanced for making roads, bridges, harbours, and canals in Ireland, with a stipulation that the parties to be benefited should bear half the expense ; and that measures should be adopted for enabling the redundant population to emigrate and establish themselves in our colonies.

The replies which my father received to the first of these suggestions, give a very curious insight into the state of public feeling in Ireland at that important crisis. His scheme of pacification, it would appear, was not acceptable to either party, although it was less obnoxious to the Roman Catholics than to the Protestants. The event, he thought, placed in a strong light the ignorance and the prejudice of both parties. The Protestants did not anticipate that a much stronger measure would be immediately proposed and carried by the Duke of Wellington—a measure far more likely to divide and ruin the Protestant interest, as many individuals, both in and out of Parliament, who had pledged themselves to oppose absolute and final concessions, might, without inconsistency, have assented to an experimental proposition. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic prelates, notwithstanding their great ability and long experience, showed that they knew nothing either of their opponents or of their supporters, otherwise they

would not have taken for granted that the latter would be satisfied with emancipation, nor have cherished the preposterous suspicion, that the former might resist by force an emancipation act, or suddenly rise in arms to massacre their Popish brethren.

From Lord Redesdale.

“ Batsford Park, Sept. 7, 1828.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I conclude, from the forbearance of the Irish Government, that they have been advised that the collection of the Catholic rent is not illegal. If it is considered as a *voluntary* contribution, I apprehend it is no more illegal than collecting a subscription for a bridge, a road, or other work, or for a work of charity. If not *voluntary*, the threats used to extort it might render the collection illegal. If professed to be applied for an illegal purpose, the purpose may render it illegal.

“ Under the Irish law, Mr O’Connell may practise at the bar without taking the oath of supremacy, taking the oath required by the Irish act.

“ With respect to Ireland generally, and with regard to the Catholics particularly, the Government of Ireland has at all times been very ill conducted. As the Attorney-General of James the First said, ‘ Ireland was never fully conquered, and was never made duly obedient to law. When the constable

cries, ‘ Stop thief,’ the people cry, ‘ Stop the constable.’

“ Mr Pitt, Mr Fox, and every Minister for the last forty years and more, have constantly, grossly mismanaged with respect to Ireland. The first great blunder was in Lord Townshend’s lieutenancy, when, to get rid of the Ponsonbys and that faction, Lord Townshend set up the Beresfords and that faction, and handed over Ireland from the former to the latter. The Ponsonbys and their faction, before that time, called themselves the heads of the Protestant interest, and ruled Ireland as they pleased. When deprived of their power, they turned round to the Catholics, and became the advocates of Catholic emancipation. Had the Lord Lieutenant had the good policy, when he had knocked down the Ponsonby faction, to play the two factions against each other, allowing the Ponsonby faction a fair share of interest and power, they would not have turned Catholics. But, like Satan, they thought it better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven, and they have in consequence played the very mischief in Ireland. If I were asked what should now be done—I should say, ‘ Nothing, until Ireland can be made fully obedient to law; and it is the fault of the Government that Ireland is not obedient to law.’

“ If I were told that *something* must be done, I should deny the *must*: but if the Minister should say I *will* do *something*, but not *all*; I should say, then

you must no longer coquet with the Catholics, but say—‘ This I will do, and no more.’ ‘ Take what I offer, or not, as you please.’—All the Catholics of property would take what was offered, and the priests and agitators would refuse, and then the question would be whether the Catholics of property, or those of no property, were to rule.

“ The whole business, as managed by every government for many years, has been a tissue of folly ; and Ministers seem never to have collected any wisdom from what has happened. The world at present is enjoying the benefit of the march of intellect, which has been (perhaps truly) called ‘ The Rogue’s March.’ Dear sir, truly yours,

“ REDESDALE.”

From the Earl of Hardwicke.

“ Scarborough, 7th October, 1828.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I received yesterday your letter of the 1st instant, enclosing a printed paper relating to the Roman Catholic question ; and as the circular letter contains also a private note in your own hand, I lose no time in acknowledging it.

“ It has never appeared to me that any negotiation or adjustment with the Pope would be of much importance in the settlement of this question ; though I doubt not he would be ready to give every assistance in his power consistently with what he might

think due to the Roman Catholic Church. The main question is, shall the Peers of that religion, consisting of seven or eight persons, who have an hereditary right to sit in the House of Lords, and upon whom, therefore, the grievance presses the most heavily, continue to be excluded from it on account of their objection to take certain oaths (no longer necessary), and to subscribe their disbelief in transubstantiation ; and shall the laity of that persuasion be excluded from seats in the House of Commons for the same reason ; the right of voting for representatives in that House having been given to Roman Catholic freeholders in Ireland, and refused in England, though in the latter country they are few in number, and have always been perfectly quiet ; and in the other, in both respects the reverse ? If any thing is to be done for the clergy, which is certainly desirable, some arrangement must be made with the Pope ; and possibly it might be thought right to follow that which was proposed by Lord Castlereagh in 1815, if the clergy would now agree to it, as they did at that time. Unfortunately the plan was then overruled ; and every attempt since to bring the question to a favourable issue, has been too successfully opposed in the House of Lords. Even the motion which passed the House of Commons to allow the Peers to sit and vote, was negatived in the House of Lords ; for though it was agreed to by a majority of eight of the Peers present, it was ultimately thrown out by

a majority of four, by the proxies of absent Bishops. This detail of facts is, I confess, no answer to your desire of receiving useful hints for promoting the desirable object of bringing the question to a final issue. How this is to be done without a change in the opinions and votes of many who have hitherto opposed the measure, I am at a loss to say. If such a change should be brought about by time and circumstances, it would be a fortunate event; and I have no idea that it would endanger the establishment of our Protestant church.

“ In reference to what you say in the printed paper enclosed in your letter, some useful hints might possibly be drawn from the concordat between the King of the Netherlands and the Pope, though there is this difference between the two cases, that in a considerable part of his dominions the established religion is Roman Catholic. I remain, dear sir, your obedient and faithful servant,

“ HARDWICKE.”

From Lord Stourton.

“ Allerton Park, near Wetherby, 10th Oct. 1828.

“ Dear Sir John,

“ I duly received the newspaper you were so obliging as to send me, and beg you will accept my thanks for it and the accompanying letter. It is to me astonishing that this country, otherwise so advanced, and taking its natural lead in all liberal institu-

tions, should be the *last* in liberalizing its religious code. When I say this, I of course refer only to such countries as are divided in their sentiments on religious subjects. Hitherto, unfortunately, the Government of the country has only availed itself of the endeavours of the leading Roman Catholics to settle the question, to embarrass them in fruitless discussions, and to divide them upon minor points. A sincere wish on the part of the former to act in a fairer manner, and with honest views of relieving the country at once from the danger and disgrace of a proscriptive code now peculiar to ourselves, would soon put an end to all our distractions. To act any part in so laudable a settlement would be my utmost ambition ; but, wholly unknown to the Government, and ignorant of its real intentions, I can only hold myself ready to second its efforts by my sincere, but very weak and humble, though very cordial co-operation. But the Duke of Wellington must *lead*, that is *his* natural province ; we can, as good soldiers, only follow, and that at a distance.

“ Once more thanking you for your kind wish to bring about this happy consummation, I remain, dear Sir John, yours sincerely,

“ STOURTON.”

From the most Reverend Archbishop Curtis.

“ Drogheda, 22d October, 1828.

“ Dear Sir,

“ On my return a few days back from the visitation of this diocese of Armagh, to my residence here, I had the honour of receiving two communications from you of the 7th and 30th ultimo, containing some thoughts on Catholic emancipation, which have since been proposed, and recommended by you in the newspapers to the consideration of the public at large, for the purpose of persuading the contending parties for and against that measure, to come to a compromise, by yielding up or sacrificing something on each side, which you look upon as the only sure means to obtain the desired boon, and to avoid a civil war, so much to be otherwise dreaded as the almost necessary consequence of the alarming state of exalted party feeling in this country at present.

“ These liberal and philanthropic views and exertions do great honour to your head and heart, and justly claim our grateful acknowledgments ; a tribute that, for my own part, I most cheerfully pay, and with all sincerity beg leave to assure you I shall ever be anxious to adopt—nay, I think it my bounden duty to promote—by every lawful means in my power, such pacific and conciliatory measures as may appear reasonable, and conducive to the vitally interesting ends you mention.

“ But permit me, *in limine*, to request that, with

me, you will pause a moment to consider the importance of the interference that you press me to undertake, but which I could not so much as propose to any well-informed man, without accompanying such proposal, not surely in vague and general terms, but with its precise object, and some new well-founded motive for adopting it, not known to him before, and even deliberated upon, *usque ad satietatem*. I should certainly in such a case be asked, and I must consequently take the liberty of asking you,—Has Government, or any branch of the Legislature, directly or indirectly commissioned you, or any other you know of, to make to the Irish Roman Catholics the proposal you have sent them, asserting, or evidently supposing, that Government is ready and willing to grant them full emancipation on the terms you mention, and that it even wishes them to make such offer? Common report, indeed, with its usual flippancy and rashness, tells us, that the distinguished nobleman at the head of his Majesty's Government means to do something for us in that way, but does not descend to particulars, nor intimate that his Grace would incline to be addressed by us on the subject. But were it even otherwise, and that we were expressly encouraged or called upon to petition, or in any other manner to express our sentiments, and signify how far the Catholic body would be disposed to go on the occasion, it never could be meant that, by adopting the conditions or declarations proposed

by you, we could hope to obtain any relief ; for the substance of all the conditions you propose, and a great deal more, has been already expressed by us, and repeatedly presented to the Legislature and to Government—(pray take notice)—by the petitions and bills put forward in our favour, by the solemn declarations published by the entire body of British and Irish bishops, and by the detailed and rigorous oaths formed and proposed by the Legislature itself, and freely taken and sworn by us all, bishops, clergy, and laity, and comprehending every thing that even the most unjust misrepresentation ever attributed to Roman Catholics, under the wretched pretext of their holding the inoffensive tenet of the Pope's supremacy in spiritual or religious matters alone.

“ This being then manifestly the case, how could you seriously propose to me, an octogenarian Roman Catholic Archbishop, that we should abjure the Pope's power to depose our King to absolve his subjects from their allegiance to his Majesty, or to meddle directly or indirectly in the civil affairs or government of his kingdom ? You were, or should have been, perfectly aware, that all this and much more, had been already done by us, in the most authentic manner, and in the very terms prescribed by the Legislature and Government, who consequently appeared perfectly satisfied on the subject, and could only blame themselves, not us, if any thing neces-

sary on that head still remained to be done, which was not the case.

“ Well but, you say, after all, some concessions must be made on both sides, or there can be no emancipation. My own firm opinion is, and I wish I could get the Catholics to adopt it, namely, that said emancipation is a contemptible thing, and not worth the tenth part of the struggle, labour, expense, and irritation it has cost already, and is likely still to be attended with ; its value is quite mistaken and overrated, as it can really do very little good or harm on either side. Yet not this, but the very reverse, is the general opinion, and as the world is governed, even in its highest affairs, by such chimeras, I should not be surprised that this also should have its day, if it were not taken up, on all sides, as a matter of the first importance, for or against which, immense numbers, calling themselves reasonable men, and even Christians, are ready and willing to sacrifice the lives and fortunes of their opponents, and to expose their own.

“ You talk of bringing such people to a compromise by yielding mutually something to each other. You seem, then, to suppose they proceed bona fide, and may be induced, at least, to treat peaceably on the business ; but that is far from being the case. The Orangemen, Brunswickers, and Co. will not grant emancipation on any terms ; and if it should pass against their will, they threaten to disown such

law, and those that make it. The answer commonly given by Catholics is, that as they ask for nothing that belongs to their fellow-subjects, nor seek to deprive them of any of their rights, but only to be allowed the same, they find it impossible to conceive how they can, with justice, be called upon or condemned to yield or pay a purchase or fine, for what is generally allowed, by the unprejudiced, to be their due, which they should have long since obtained, as they did many other more important rights, that had also been long withheld. If it should be pretended, that nothing more is required from Catholics than to secure Government they will not abuse the concession, if made ; they have never refused, but will be always ready to give Government any such reasonable security in their power, though neither they, on former occasions, nor have the dissenters latterly, been obliged to give any such securities. If it be wished that the boon should be received with gratitude, it should not be marred by any clog, which might be much more annoying than the yoke that was sought to be removed.

“ I have the honour to be, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

“ + P. CURTIS, R.C. *Abp.*”

From the most Reverend Archbishop Curtis.

“ Drogheda, 27th Nov., 1828.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I am honoured with your very friendly letter

of the 19th instant, enclosing and recommending a printed copy of your new Circular, or Plan, for settling the Catholic Question, which you hope may serve to conciliate all parties, by granting Emancipation to the Catholics for one year, at first, as it were, on an experimental trial, to be renewed from year to year, and not be made absolute, until time should fully prove (as you justly anticipate would soon be the case) that no such fatal consequences would follow from that measure, as its opponents seem at present to apprehend.

“ The proposal must be allowed, and even applauded by all, as being very simple, clear, and easy to be carried into speedy execution. It has, besides, the advantage of coming from you, as the result of your profound reflections—but I fear, that but few of either party will adopt, or take it into serious consideration ; while the great majority of both will raise many objections, on opposite grounds, against it. For the aggrieved party will naturally ask, if such proposal be made by order, or founded on any certain authority or insinuation from Government, or is it even known that the Legislature or Government are disposed to accede to any such terms of concession, or wish they should be made ? In my former letter, I mentioned this same necessary question to you, but I found no sort of reply to it in your last ; and without some such basis, all similar projects are generally considered as mere conversation, or vague and idle

schemes for building castles in the air. This must still more be the case at present, as, during the last month, we are assailed in all the public papers with threats that no emancipation will be granted or offered, unaccompanied with a tail of wings, securities, and conditions, little suited to your naked plan, or to the expectations and resolves of the Irish Catholics. These will also say, that one year would be quite too short a period, and that five, or even seven years at least would be required for the momentous experiment proposed by you—nay, they will certainly add, there can be no just reason why the boon of emancipation should not be at once made absolute, as the same sovereign power that might grant, could by a subsequent act repeal or limit it, if, after a fair and sufficient trial, it should unhappily be found that such restraint was indispensably necessary for the public good ; which doleful case you are persuaded would never occur, and I perfectly coincide with you in that opinion.

“ But, on the other hand, the exclusionists, or ascendancy party, will scornfully scout all necessity of any further trial or experiment, as they but too abundantly know already, by woful experience, that Catholics, if admitted to power, however limited, would always employ it to introduce Popery, slavery, &c. &c. &c., for such is the cant ; and not content with such compliments, they further declare, they will ever oppose Catholic Emancipation by every

possible means, and that if it should pass into a law against their will, they are determined to disown the law itself, and its legislators, as violating the constitution, and thereby forfeiting all claim to their respect and obedience, with many other still more treasonable and sanguinary enormities, publicly pronounced in their late Orange and Brunswick Clubs, recorded in the Irish and British newspapers, and, I am sorry to say, approved and eulogized by men, from whose high station we ought to expect principles better calculated to prove the boasted march of intellect.

“ Yet, the Lord be praised, all Protestants are not of this description, but, on the contrary, very many, and the most influential among them, are sincerely attached to their Catholic brethren, daily affording to each other unequivocal testimonies of mutual esteem and support. It must, however, be owned, that these our worthy friends are far less numerous than the abovementioned persecuting classes; whom I only mention, that you may not be surprised, if neither your own, nor any other benevolent plan, can be easily, or perhaps at all rendered acceptable, to a desperate and undiscerning party. I do not, however, entirely despair, that even these in time may be brought round to better sentiments, by the influence and example of their more unprejudiced brethren; and that all sects and denominations of Christians may live together in the bonds of peace, concord, and brotherly

love, under just and equal laws, which may be amply sufficient for all civil and political purposes, but should not by any means extend to, or meddle with, religious tenets, or even the discipline of the Catholic Church, which neither will, nor ought to be, submitted to their direction; and it is in the spirit of a real friend that I take the liberty of advising you to lay aside the intention you announced of proposing a general plan on that subject also, as you may depend it would fail, as all such projects have hitherto ever done. For true religion cannot be made a political engine; and indeed these infidel times are the most unseasonable that could be chosen for such an attempt, which could only mean to induce people to adopt certain forms of language about religion, without having any at all in reality, which seems to be the object of the day. I have the honour to remain, my dear sir, your most obedient servant,

“ + P. CURTIS, *Abp.*”

From the Right Rev. Bishop Doyle.

“ Carlow, 4th December, 1828.

“ Dear Sir,

“ I have communicated your plan for the settlement of the Catholic question to some of the most intelligent among my friends. I have myself also considered it, but the novelty of the plan itself, and the want of precedents in any way analogous to it,

leave me unable to form a decided opinion on the merits of it.

“ How could members of Parliament or judges be independent under the operation of an annual law ? There may be also other offices where the tenure of the occupant should be certain. Perhaps these difficulties might be surmounted, but I doubt whether these alone would offer themselves. I am of opinion that Government could satisfy the sensible portion of the community even now by a general and final adjustment, and might disregard the violent of all parties ; for even in Ireland, the great, the vast majority of Catholics and Protestants would, after some declamation to save their honour, willingly acquiesce in any reasonable legislative enactment ; and that the same results would follow in Great Britain, it is, I think, not difficult to divine. The great evil to be dreaded is the leaving the question open ; for so left, it will, as certainly as our existence, produce the total ruin of this country, and possibly even of England.

“ I am rejoiced to find that your experiments continue to produce new and useful discoveries. Had we but internal peace and our currency secure, we might begin a new race of improvement. Perhaps a good Providence will so provide for us.

“ With sentiments of the most perfect esteem, and gratitude for your continued solicitude for my countrymen, I have the honour to be, my dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

“ + T. DOYLE.”

From the Right Reverend Bishop Doyle.

“ Carlow, 20th February, 1829.

“ My dear Sir,

“ We all have indeed great cause to rejoice that it hath pleased Providence to dispose those in power to establish, if it be possible, religious peace in Ireland. Hitherto no obstacle has been raised on the part of the Catholics to the accomplishment of this great and good work. You will collect from the newspapers that the heads of our clergy have done all in their power to remove a great cause of fear or distrust, by recommending the dissolution of the Catholic Association; and this proceeding of theirs affords a pledge that they are strongly disposed to assist rather than impede the work of peace.

“ They could not do more, unacquainted as they are with the provisions of the intended Act, or Acts of Parliament; nor is it possible for me to inform you as I would wish to do, of the course they will pursue, when a full view of the contemplated measure comes before them. I am certain there is no class of men in the United Kingdom who desire more anxiously to remove all impediment out of the way of a final settlement, and that nothing less than a prospect of danger to the religion of which they are the guardians, would move them to do or say any thing which might embarrass the Government.

“ On the other hand, the Brunswickers here,

though now reduced to a small number, are increasing hourly in violence; and the Catholics in many places apprehend a sudden rising of them to massacre the Papists. I hope these fears are unfounded, but they exist; and nothing can be more deplorable than the exciting language used by the Opposition in Parliament, which repeated here and commented upon, irritates and inflames exceedingly the passions of the vulgar. Let us, however, hope, that He who can say to the sea, ‘be calm,’ and to the north wind, ‘do not blow,’ will still these tumults, and enable the Government to perfect what they have so well begun.

“I do not intend going to London this year, though few things would give me more pleasure than to meet you in the midst of the wise and good who abound there, that we might rejoice together, as I hope we could do, at the prospects opening, even thus late, on our too-long distracted country.

“I have the honour to be, my dear sir, your most obedient humble servant,

“+ T. DOYLE.”

From the Right Rev. Bishop Doyle.

“Carlow, March 8, 1831.

“My dear Sir,

“I do hope earnestly that the regard with which you have honoured me may not be diminished by any cause. The occasional interruptions of our correspondence cannot affect it, still less can they alter, in

the slightest degree, the exceeding respect with which your kindness to myself, but still more your unwearied efforts to serve this country, have inspired me.

“ I was absent from home for some days past, and on that account did not receive your letter with the accompanying paper till late on Saturday.

“ I am very much of your opinion on the Union Question, as to the difficulty or impracticability of repealing it, and will do all I can to cause the agitation of it to subside. Good measures by Government will quiet the minds of the people ; but if longer neglected, or ill-treated, they could easily be led, in despite of me, and of such as me, to adopt any plans, however absurd, which would hold out to them a hope of relief. My dear sir, most truly and respectfully, your obedient servant,

“ + T. DOYLE.”

From the Earl of Eldon.

“ Dear Sir John,

“ I have received and read your publication, entitled, ‘ Thoughts on Catholic Emancipation.’ I am obliged by your attention in sending it to me, but, after recollecting all that I have heard in debate, and read upon the subject of the Roman Catholic claims in the last twenty-eight years, I do not apprehend that the plan suggested in your circulated paper is likely to be adopted.

“ I am, dear sir, with great respect, your obliged servant,

“ ELDON.

“ Encombe, Nov. 4, 1828.”

From the Earl of —.

“ 27th Nov. 1828.

“ My dear Sir,

“ I am favoured with your letter of the 24th instant.

“ I am decidedly clear, that it would not be safe to give to the Roman Catholics any one more political privilege than they at present possess.

“ The discontent in Ireland is kept alive by the *expectations* which are held out to them, and the moment you put an end to these expectations, tranquillity will be restored, and matters go on in their usual course.

“ I think the admission of Catholics to Parliament, even for one year, would be objectionable, and that it is much more easy to keep them out than it would be to turn them out afterwards. If they ever get into power, the first use they will make of it will be to annihilate the Protestant Church in Ireland, and then the link of the chain which unites the two countries together is broken. I am, my dear Sir John, your faithful servant,

“ ———.”

From the Earl of ———.

“ 4th December, 1828.

“ Sir,

“ I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note and papers relating to a proposed plan of conceding all the demands of the Roman Catholics. I will candidly say, I do not approve of it; first, because I think it degrading to Government and to this great nation to be bullied into a compromise by which the disaffected will gain every thing, and the loyal majority nothing; secondly, because I think the proposed plan could not be reduced to practice. No temporary concession can be made; it must be a permanent one. Once the floodgates are opened, the power of the waters overcomes every other obstacle, and the old saying is, ‘possession is nine points of the law.’ The more power is given to the Roman Catholics, the better they will be able to maintain their ground. If it is not safe to give them the privileges they ask, for a permanency, the same arguments oppose the temporary concession. I cannot attempt to develope the reasons at present for not giving what the followers of the Pope now so loudly demand, but I would earnestly refer you to a remarkably talented speech lately delivered by the Rev. Mr Martin, at a meeting of the Brunswick Club in Dublin. I anxiously request you will procure it, and read it with attention. You will find it devoid of

party spirit, full of information, and the conclusions are irresistible. Believing your motives to be the very best, and convinced you wish to benefit, and not to injure your country, I should not be surprised, if, after studying this able speech, you adopted very different views from what you now entertain. For my own part, I become every day more convinced that the concessions you would propose are fraught with more danger to the constitution than human foresight can fathom. I remain, sir, with many thanks, your very faithful and obedient servant,

“ ———.”

Sir John received from other leading characters on both sides a variety of answers to his proposition, and in particular, a letter from the Duke of Clarence, written with his usual vigour and animation. In this very interesting document his Royal Highness adverts to circumstances which, from a very early period, had left him his own master, and obliged him, upon all the chief questions of the preceding half century, to think and act for himself. This independence of opinion characterises the numerous communications with which the Duke honoured my father during a correspondence of above thirty years. From the letter now before me I am induced to quote a sentiment which does honour to the patriotism of the illustrious writer :—“ I feel very great satisfaction in finding that our sentiments agree on the point of the

Catholics in Ireland, who have been too long degraded. That island might become the treasure of our empire, and I hope to God it will. Look to what was the state of Scotland till the Earl of Bute most wisely admitted Jacobites into the King's family and service. Who more loyal than the sons of Scotia? Do away in Ireland the disabilities of religion, and the inhabitants of Hibernia will be equally attached to their monarch."

The next important question in which my father took a part, was that of Parliamentary Reform. I have already mentioned, that a proposition for Parliamentary Reform, substantially the same with one previously suggested by him in his "Lucubrations," was unsuccessfully made by Mr Pitt in 1785. The failure of this attempt, joined to the wild theories and sanguinary proceedings consequent upon the French Revolution, appears either to have extinguished the zeal of the Minister for political change, or to have convinced him of its impolicy. The same circumstances proved a discouragement to my father. He also looked upon those who claimed to be the friends of the people as being immoderate in their demands, and regarded some of their complaints as entirely without foundation. During the continuance of the war, therefore, he abstained from agitating the question.

Soon after the return of peace, he again brought forward his plan of purchasing the franchises of the

decayed boroughs, and transferring them to the counties. His arguments in favour of the measure were, that it was *safe, equitable, and necessary*; *safe*, because it had been adopted by that great constitutional authority, Mr Pitt; *equitable*, because compensation would be made to all the parties interested; and, *necessary*, because the increasing number of decayed boroughs might lead to the establishment of an oligarchy, who would dictate both to the crown and to the people.

In 1819, when an alarming disaffection towards the institutions of the country, both political and religious, was manifested in the manufacturing districts of Scotland, Sir John Sinclair, in the hope that an old advocate of reform, and a tried friend to the working classes, might have some influence in opening the eyes of the misguided multitude, published an "Address to the Reformers of Glasgow," showing the evil tendency of their licentious principles, and proving to them, that their own interests were inseparably interwoven with the maintenance of law, property, and religion.

In 1830, when various causes, and in particular a wide-spread popular sympathy with the revolution of the "Three Days," awakened a general enthusiasm for reform, his attention was again directed to the subject. He wished the opportunity to be improved for effecting a more complete representation of the people, while he felt apprehensive, that in the excited

state of the public mind, the ancient landmarks of the Constitution would be borne down by a torrent of innovation. The Ministry were pledged to bring forward some plan of reform, but he was anxious that, before its production, the subject in all its bearings should be discussed by moderate men, who, although friendly to the cause, were not carried away by the delirium of the moment.

In a tract, therefore, entitled "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform," he began by laying down three general principles, which, he conceived, should be the basis of constitutional reformation. *1st*, That practical improvement should be aimed at rather than theoretical perfection. "A perfect commonwealth," he observes, "is a visionary idea, never to be realized while mankind are themselves imperfect. Let our efforts, therefore, be directed to the removal of obvious defects in our present system, rather than to the construction of a new government." *2dly*, That demolition is far easier than restoration; that if alterations be carried too far in existing institutions, some wheel indispensable to the action of the political machine may be unintentionally removed, and the mischief be irreparable; whereas further changes are always in our power, and may be afterwards resolved on, should they seem advisable, when the effect of previous experimental measures has been ascertained. *3dly*, Against those who considered the institutions

of the United States as an example to Great Britain, or against the "American party," as he sometimes called them, he insisted that a form of government the best possible for one country may be the worst possible for another, whose internal state, as well as foreign relations are wholly different. "Supposing," says he, "the happiness of the American republic to have been hitherto as great as its admirers represent, and to be as likely to continue as its well-wishers desire (of whom I am myself among the most sincere), we should recollect the various important peculiarities in the condition of America; that a number of independent states are there united into one commonwealth, that they are not surrounded by powerful neighbours, that they require no extensive military or colonial establishments, and that they possess an unbounded territory for the expansion of their population: in all these respects there is a total contrast to the circumstances of Great Britain."

The plan of our venerable reformer, now in his 77th year, anticipated in some important respects the ministerial measure;* he suggested, that decayed boroughs should be purchased; that for the sake of greater order and decorum in the proceedings of the house, the number of members should be diminished; that owners

* So remarkable was the resemblance between the two plans, that some of my father's friends could only be persuaded, after a strict comparison of dates, that his proposition was not subsequent to that of Ministers.

of copyhold estates, and tenants upon long leases, should have the right of voting in common with freeholders ; that registers of voters should be regularly made up, and that the duration of Parliaments should not be shortened. The plan was more moderate than that subsequently developed by Lord John Russell. The qualification fixed upon was higher, and in the case of county electors arose solely from the *produce of the soil*, so that county members would have been returned exclusively by the agricultural interests.

With the noble head of the Reform Ministry, Sir John had held frequent intercourse during the preceding fifty years, and had visited at Howick in the lifetime of the Earl's father, Sir Charles Grey. With the vivid and 'minute impression of early scenes characteristic of old age, he remembered visiting some ancient castles in the neighbourhood, accompanied by the future premier, who enlarged with much juvenile enthusiasm on "the spirit-stirring" deeds of feudal times, and declared that those were "days worth living for." Earl Grey had opposed the institution of the Board of Agriculture, but subsequently became a member, and when an attempt was meditated to prevent the re-election of the founder as President, kindly intimated his intention to support him. His Lordship was so alive to Sir John's services to the country, not only as an agriculturist and financier, but as a reformer, that, soon after attaining office, he pledged himself to

bestow upon his veteran coadjutor “some mark of personal regard”—the stronger claims, however, of natural affection anticipated those of private friendship or public spirit, and this pledge, so honourable to both parties, still remains to be redeemed.

The third and only remaining political transaction to be noticed, was the plan devised by Sir John Sinclair for a reduction of taxes to the amount of between three and four millions sterling; thus enabling Government to repeal the malt tax. He was anxious that the “dead weight,” as it is called, or the military, naval, and civil allowances in our various establishments, amounting, in 1834, to above five millions sterling, should be converted into capital, at ten years’ purchase, and paid off by a grant of thirty millions, the interest of which sum would be about one million. Posterity, indeed, by this stroke of finance, would be burdened; but the present generation, loaded as it was with undue pressure, would be proportionably relieved. The malt tax, in particular, might be abolished, to the great improvement of the nation in morals and domestic comfort. “Instead of frequenting public-houses,” says he, “the poor man would brew at home, and use his own yeast for baking; and thus, by the single repeal of this tax, the legislature would give the people the staff of life, good bread; and the staple beverage of Britons, good beer.”

Having now placed before the reader an epitome of

the concluding political events in my father's history, I return to his literary memoirs, and proceed to notice his three remaining works, one of which he lived to complete, leaving the other two unfinished. In 1831 he published two volumes of his correspondence, with "Reminiscences" of the most distinguished characters who had appeared in Great Britain or in foreign countries during the previous fifty years. He had been induced, some time before, to examine all the letters in his possession, with a view of collecting specimens of autographs. During the perusal of these documents, he discovered such a variety of interesting materials, that he resolved on publishing a selection. This work differs from other epistolary compilations in the variety of characters whose letters it contained, and the number of countries from which the correspondence emanated. A long and interesting account of this publication was drawn up in German by Baron Varnhagen Von Ense for the Berlin Critical Journal. After a short biographical sketch of Sir John Sinclair's life and public services, the Baron thus comments upon the variety of interesting materials in the correspondence. "The greatest contrasts," observes the critic, "the most remote extremes, lie here peaceably together as in a traveller's album. That the eminent men of the author's own department, Arthur Young, Pictet, Adam Smith, Say, Rumford, Thaer, Baron Voght, Fulton, &c., should be all here was to be expected; but in addition to

these we find besides, Madame de Staël, and the Countess de Genlis—the excellent Hannah More—Field-Marshal Romanzow Sadunaisky, and the tragedian Kean—Count Bernstorff and General Paoli—Jefferson and Count Zenobio—Prince Polignac and General Lafayette, besides Bishop Gregoire;—the two last, on account of their philanthropic principles, peculiarly dear to Sinclair.”

When the Baron communicated his article to his friend Goëthe, he received from him the following answer, from which it appears that the venerable critic had formed a high opinion of the work, which was among the last books he ever read:—

“ Weimar, 5th August, 1831.

“ Your communication furnished me with a welcome gift. Some time before its arrival, I had faithfully accompanied the worthy SINCLAIR through his two volumes; the impression made upon me by your sketch was on this account more complete. I confess, with pleasure, that I recognise in it the hand of a master of biographical delineation, in whose views I entirely coincide, though without the slightest pretension to the power of epitomizing any work in so happy a manner. Your favour has done me yet further service, by enabling me to render my dear daughter-in-law acquainted with the general character of the work, having previously endeavoured to amuse her by a selection of the most interesting passages. I add

no more, for although *oppressed* by nothing, I am *pressed* for time, and consequently seldom stimulated to remember the wishes of absent friends.”*

That department of my father's labours which he designated the Codean System, included, as I have before said, separate works on Health, Agriculture, Political Economy, and Religion. The completion of the two former Codes has been already noticed. On the publication of his Correspondence, he immediately began correcting and arranging materials for the two latter, which he left unfinished.

Notwithstanding his advanced age, and the magnitude, as well as intricacy of the subjects before him, he resolved on carrying on both codes at the same time. The accumulated infirmities of eighty years,

* “ Weimar, den 5 August, 1831.

“ Sie haben mir durch ihre freundliche Sendung ein sehr angenehmes Geschenk gemacht. Ich hatte vor einiger Zeit den wackern SINCLAIR durch seine zwei Bände treulich begleitet; um einen desto vollständigeren Eindruck musste ihre Darstellung auf mich machen. Gern will ich gestehen, dass ich in dieser den Meister biographischer Kunst gewahr werde, mit dessen Ansichten ich vollkommen übereinstimmend fühle und denke, ohne dass ich mir anmassen dürfte ein solches Werk auf eine so glückliche Weise zu epitomisiren. Noch einen besonderen Dienst haben Sie mir dadurch geleistet, dass sie mich in den Stand setzten, meiner guten Schwiegertochter das Ganze bekannt zu machen, da ich sie mit einzeln, auffallendern, allegemein interessanter Stellen zu unterhalten gesucht hatte. Mehr will ich nicht sagen, da ich, zwar, nicht in bedrängten, aber doch in gedrängten Augenblicken lebe, und desshalb an auswärtige Freunde und ihre Wünsche seltener zu denken angeregt werde.”

however, necessarily prevented him from prosecuting his labours with the same energy as in early life. It had been his custom to work twelve hours a-day, but he now reluctantly confined himself to six. He designed his publication on political economy to be a summary of all his statistical researches for upwards of half a century. To enumerate the various topics in this comprehensive volume, or to describe the manner in which any one of them is discussed, would give no adequate idea of the work. I may remark, however, that in the Introduction he traces the origin and progress of the science, defines the terms employed, and briefly criticises the writings of the most distinguished economists. Throughout the treatise, he studiously avoids the prevailing error of over-estimating the importance of wealth. Among the objects of chief practical concern to every statesman, he includes the intellectual, moral, and religious well-being of the people, their advancement in knowledge, in virtue, in piety, and riches of the mind, as well as in bodily and material comforts. He emancipates the divine, the physician, the man of letters, and the magistrate from the disparaging category of the unproductive classes, and by a new arrangement, promotes them to the rank of "useful," or *indirectly productive*. He considers the protection of the people by law, their refinement by science, literature, and the arts, and their moral elevation by religion, as the noblest aim of patriots and princes ; the most effec-

tual means of exciting, sustaining, and rewarding industry, even in those departments of labour, which, by way of eminence, are usually styled *productive*.

The classes whom he considers neither directly nor indirectly productive, and whom, therefore, he designates *useless*, are the insane, debtors in prison, the infirm poor, adults living on charity, vagrants, and criminals. To transfer as many human beings as possible from this last or useless class to either of the preceding, to render them directly or indirectly productive, ought, in his opinion, to be an object of primary solicitude to the rulers of a country.

In a letter referring to this work, after having seen the prospectus and general plan, M. Say, the great French economist, remarks:—"You have undertaken a task worthy of yourself, of your illustrious name, and of your mature talents; namely, to trace the path which it is proper to follow in researches of that description; and your success is likely to be more certain, as the organization of political societies has become more improved."

But throughout the whole circle of his numerous and diversified compositions, Sir John Sinclair attached the greatest importance to his contemplated "Code or Digest of Natural and Revealed Religion."

Many of his literary friends objected on different grounds to this title. Some alleged that the term was too lofty a designation. It seemed to imply inherent authority, whereas, strictly speaking, the only

code of religion for a Christian must be the Bible. But the author explained that he employed the word code in the sense of a compendium, manual, or digest, which, in fact, was its original and proper meaning. Other friends disliked the phrase, "Natural Religion," affirming that religion in no sense whatever is natural to man, but has at all times and in all countries been grounded upon primeval tradition. These latter objectors did not consider the various senses in which the phrase natural religion may be understood. With *them* it means a religion excogitated altogether by man, without any help from revelation either written or traditional. The only possible example of such a religion would be that of a nation, like the wild youth in the woods of Hanover, destitute of all traditional knowledge. Could such a nation, contemplating the works of nature and their own moral constitution, form any notion of a Creator and of man's accountableness to him? or, to take another case, was it an unnatural and absurd fiction of our immortal poet, to make Adam at his creation exclaim:—

"How came I thus? how here?
Not of myself: by some great Maker then
In goodness and in pow'r pre-eminent."

According to the answer, affirmative or negative, given to these questions, will be the decision whether or not natural religion, in this first sense, be possible.*

* Some excellent remarks on this passage may be found in Dr Thomas Brown's *Philosophy of the Human Mind*, vol. iv.,

Another sense of the phrase, natural religion, is where the religious reason, deriving a knowledge of

p. 411. I may add, that the religious notions of a savage, *almost* without traditional knowledge of the Godhead, yet speculating on the origin of the world, and on his own final destiny, come very near to an example of a purely natural religion. Two instances are quoted by Professor Stewart in his *Philosophy of the Act of Powers*, vol. ii., p. 61. And I shall add a third from an Account of the Moravian Missions in Greenland:—"It is true," says a converted Esquimaux to a missionary, "that we were ignorant heathen, and knew nothing of a God or a Saviour; and, indeed, who could tell us of Him till you came? But do not imagine that no Greenlander thought on these things; I myself have often thought. 'A kajak' (a boat) 'with all its tackle and implements does not grow into existence of itself, but must be made by the labour and industry of man, and one that does not understand it would directly spoil it. Now, the meanest bird has more skill displayed in its structure than the best kajak, and no man can make a bird. But there is still far greater art shown in the formation of a man than of any other creature—who was it that made him? I bethought me, 'he proceeded from his parents, and they from their parents; but some must have been first parents, whence did they come? Common report says they grew out of the earth; but if so, why does it not happen that men grow out of the earth still? And from whence did this same earth itself, the sea, the sun, the moon, and stars, arise? Certainly there must be some Being who made all these things; a Being that always was, and never will cease to be. He must be inexpressibly more mighty and wise than the wisest of men; and he must be good; for every thing he hath made is necessary and good for us. There may be men that know something of Him—O could I but speak to such!'"

Another thus replied:—"Man is made quite different from the brutes; the brutes have no understanding, but serve for food to each other, and all for the use of man; but man has an

Deity from tradition, has not the advantage of inspired Scriptures, but constructs his theology, like Socrates, from observations of nature, as well intellectual as physical. This obviously deserves the name of natural religion. In a third sense, even when the enquirer is acquainted with the written word of God, his religion may be termed natural, if he makes no use of revealed authority, but frames a theory, like Lord Shaftesbury and others, out of reflections and deductions from natural phenomena. Such a religion must be miserably defective, but such as it is, may nevertheless be termed a religion of nature.

Many writers of my father's advanced age and experience as an author, might have lost patience when beset with needless and hypercritical objections, like those just mentioned. But his constitutional mildness of temper prevailed. Seeing clearly the way before him, he was not distressed by useless warnings of danger. He also received encouragement from other friends entitled to his warmest esteem, and in particular, from two eminent prelates of the Church of England. The latter candidly admitted, that arguments from a layman in defence of Christianity are received, however invidiously, with greater favour than from the clergy, by the very persons who, from

intelligent soul, is afraid of no creature in the world, yet man is afraid of a future state. Who is he afraid of *there*? There is a great spirit that has dominion over us—O! did we but know Him!"

their prejudices against it, have greatest need of instruction in its evidences. They conceived, also, that an individual like Sir John Sinclair, who had devoted a long life to the temporal happiness of his fellow-creatures, had peculiar claims upon their attention, when addressing them on the subject of religion and of happiness eternal.

In proportion, however, as the infirmities of age increased upon him, he became more apprehensive that he would not live to execute his undertaking. He often used to say, "I am much afraid that I have delayed too long commencing this work; if I could only live one year more, I should complete my digest of religion, and then all my labours as an author will close for ever."

As his work was intended to be elementary, he supposes himself addressing an ill-instructed or wholly ignorant catechumen, and in the first chapter gives a general view of human nature, both corporeal and mental, as indicative of design. He proceeds to the globe which man inhabits, and explains the evidences of wisdom, power, and goodness in its structure, its component parts, its atmosphere, its productions, and its inferior living occupants. He then treats of the heavenly bodies by which the globe is surrounded; and expatiates upon their number, their magnitude, their variety, their distance, and the perpetually sustained harmony of their motions. Having thus demonstrated the existence of a God from the pheno-

mena of nature, and from the manifestations of mind, he propounds the three following queries :—Has this great Being made any direct communication of his will? If so, where is it deposited? And what are its contents? The first question leads to an examination of the Christian evidences; the second to a discussion of the rule of faith; the third to an exposition of the peculiar doctrines and precepts of Christianity, including the fall of man, and his restoration to divine favour by a Redeemer and a Sanctifier. Under this head he explained the peculiarities of the gospel in conformity with the established creeds and confessions of Protestant Christendom.

As my father's name was well known upon the Continent in connexion with political and financial investigations, he entertained a hope that a work upon religion from his pen would be read by many foreigners, sceptical as respected revelation, and perhaps disinclined to peruse the labours of their own countrymen on the subject. He was persuaded that inattention to the Christian evidences, rather than conviction of their insufficiency, after impartial enquiry, was the cause of infidelity. This hope was agreeably confirmed by the following letter from his friend, M. Cesar Moreau, President of the Society of Statistics at Paris:

“ Sir, and honoured friend,

“ It is six weeks since I returned to Paris; but

in spite of the number of scientific matters which are committed to my charge, I have accomplished all that we proposed to do. Your plan of the work, entitled, ‘*Code of Natural and Revealed Religion*,’ of which I have received several copies, was translated a month ago, and the manuscript, in French, has been read by a number of clergymen, magistrates, and other most respectable characters, who concur in opinion, that the object of the work is excellent, and that it will be most useful. In the course of a fortnight, I shall circulate upon the Continent, in French, five or six thousand copies of your plan. They think, in Paris, if five hundred copies were sent to you, that you might get them transmitted to a number of *Savans*, or learned characters abroad, by the captains of vessels going to various foreign countries, which would spread every where a knowledge of the work. At Paris, by the favour of the Diplomatic Corps, I reckon upon sending copies to the Sovereign Princes, to their Ministers, and to the various learned institutions on the Continent.

“I have read myself, at a meeting of the members of the French Society of Universal Statistics, that part of your Code, entitled, ‘General View of Human Nature, and of the Corporeal Structure and Mental Faculties of Man;’ and I have the pleasure of acquainting you, that the interesting section regarding those subjects has been judged *new, clear, and precise*. It will be inserted in the next number of our journal.

About the same time your plan for the classification of the population of a country will appear in ‘The Memoirs of the Statistical Society.’

“ You know how much I am attached to you, and how highly I appreciate your immense works. They merit to become *European*, and the day is not far distant, when they will become so, and as popular in the various states of Europe as they are in England.

“ Believe me, my much honoured friend, there is no one more sincerely wishes you all health, pleasure, and happiness, than myself. Your very affectionate and devoted

“ CESAR MOREAU.”

In 1830 my father resolved upon his last visit to his native county, with which so many pleasing and affecting associations were connected in his mind. Two of his daughters accompanied him in his journey, from whose letters and journals a few extracts will afford the most natural and interesting picture of the impressions made upon the aged traveller by this farewell to Caithness.

“ My father’s remembrance of former times was so vivid, and the stories he related so ancient, that I almost felt as if I were passing along the road with a person of a past generation, who had risen from the dead. ‘ This fertile plain,’ he would say, ‘ now covered with corn, used to be a boundless morass. Where this handsome inn now stands, with all its

decorations, there used to be nothing better than a turf cottage with a stone floor. Instead of this level road, there was once a steep ascent over that hill.— There stands a convenient bridge where there was once a dangerous ford. In that roofless old castle I have often dined with the grandfather of the present proprietor.' It seemed as if in every house my father had known those whose place now knew them no more ; contemporaries who had started into life with himself, but who had long since terminated their career, and beauties who had long since faded into oblivion.

“ He enjoyed his journey much, and delighted to explore the various hills and glens with which his eye had been familiar in early life. But his thoughts were often of a solemn character, and he frequently declared that he looked upon this journey as a last adieu to all those well-remembered scenes. In this instance, very contrary to his usual practice, he gave up in a great degree the use of his pen, and confined himself to reflection and conversation.

“ We took thirteen days to reach Caithness. We spent one of them at Dunrobin Castle, seat of the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland. A splendid fête was given in the old feudal mansion to the electors of the county. Among the family pictures we were anxious to see our grandmother, Lady Janet. We were shown the Red Earl, the Black Earl, and the

Grey Earl, and the Countess of Bothwell, who was divorced to make way for Queen Mary. She was so frightful that we could not wonder at Bothwell's anxiety to get rid of her, although we did wonder that the handsome Earl of Sutherland should have married her. At last, when we had nearly despaired of finding our venerable grandmother, we were shown a little girl with a cherry in her hand, which we were assured was actually Lady Janet.

“The magistrates of Thurso had intended to meet my father in their robes, on the bridge, and to conduct him in procession through the town. They assembled with the whole population for that purpose, but were misinformed as to our route, and the hour of our arrival. When we reached Thurso, therefore, the streets seemed unusually deserted, although flags were flying in all directions. A deputation waited on my father at the Castle next day to express their disappointment, and every means was afterwards taken to testify sincere respect for the benefactor of the county. Public dinners are so common as to be scarcely worth mentioning, though nothing could go beyond the enthusiasm shown when he dined with the people of Thurso. Their gratitude had been recently called forth by his large contributions towards building the new church, which is in the Gothic style, and the handsomest in the north of Scotland. He had also waved his right of patron-

age in favour of the parishioners, who, to our great surprise, were unanimous in their choice of a minister.

“ When my father was about to leave Caithness, there was a very strong, as well as general feeling of regret throughout the county. As he passed along the road, a number of proprietors and farmers met him on the boundaries of their respective possessions ; and, in spite of his earnest wish that they would not put themselves to such trouble on his account, escorted him on horseback to the farthest limit of their grounds. The last proprietor towards the south was Mr Horne, so many years my father’s confidential agent. He was too old to ride, but followed us in his carriage, and when we reached the ridge of a mountain, at the utmost verge of the county, alighted to take leave. My father did the same, and the two friends, who had known each other so intimately above half a century, bade each other a long, and as it proved, a final farewell.

“ My father was deeply affected on leaving a county, to the prosperity of which his time, and fortune, and talents, had been from earliest youth so constantly and so successfully directed ; and it was with an expression of mournful regret, such as seldom escaped from his serene and cheerful mind, that he crossed for the last time the Ord of Caithness.”

The last visit of the Baronet to London took place in May 1835, a few months before his death. His

chief object was to carry forward with greater vigour the composition of the two codes, and to consult some literary friends on whose judgment he placed great reliance. He resided for some time at the Beulah Spa, and afterwards removed to Bayswater. During his absence he suffered a severe loss in the death of his faithful servant, George Quinton, who had been his secretary for above twenty years.

This singular individual had been recommended to my father by Arthur Young, who had employed him as clerk and draughtsman to the Board of Agriculture. There is a memoir of Quinton in an old Magazine, describing him as a youth of extraordinary talent, but precluded by poverty from receiving the most ordinary advantages of education, till, in competition with other artists, he succeeded in painting a picture for the Magdalene Asylum. By this effort of untaught genius, he gained a prize of one hundred pounds, with which he paid his expenses in acquiring a knowledge of the art. When he came into our family, he had been for some time labouring under great depression of mind, owing, as he afterwards acknowledged, to a disappointment in love. In the fever of this disappointment, the poor youth one day went to Westminster Bridge, intending to drown himself, but lost courage, as he candidly admitted, at the sight of the river. Though his salary was good, his dress and personal appearance were ludicrously miserable, for he expended almost every shilling in

the purchase of prints and materials for drawing. He instructed my sisters in painting, but his method of teaching was beyond measure wearisome and mechanical. They were kept so long drawing eyes, noses, and ears separately, that they almost despaired of living to include all these laboriously studied features in one entire face. This original creature had great difficulty in expressing himself, but when once he fairly started on any subject, his periods, delivered slowly in a monotonous under tone, and involved in continual parentheses, were interminable. He had been some time with us before we discovered that he had more languages than one. His pupils one day, at their drawing lesson, exchanged a few remarks upon him in French, when he immediately surprised them by the warning that he was not ignorant of that language, and it afterwards appeared that he had acquired a smattering of Latin. He supported an aged mother in Suffolk, but none of us could ever learn that he had any other friend, relation, or acquaintance, beyond our own household. He was infected at one time with the Franklinian prejudice against the cruelty of killing animals for food, and adhered for several years to a Brahminical diet; nor could even the prescription of a physician induce him to give up this peculiarity.

When the family, in 1819, were about to sail from London to Edinburgh, my father paid off Quinton, and we expected to see no more of the eccentric

secretary, whose oddities had been so often our amusement; but the morning after our embarkation, on board the packet, the first person we saw on ascending the deck was Quinton. He had made up his mind that he would continue secretary, without consulting my father on the business, and declared, with much feeling, that even though his services had not been wanted, he would have resolved on living near us. Struck with this mark of attachment, his indulgent master reappointed him to his office. Quinton's peculiarities rather increased than diminished after his removal to Scotland. One of them, from which we derived much entertainment, was his preference at all times of written to oral communications. When, for instance, he desired to express a wish, or make known a fact, however trivial, to any member of the family, he persisted, though he saw us daily and constantly, in stating it on paper, and even followed the same practice in holding intercourse with my father: so that, after sitting all day opposite the Baronet, he would at night send up a despatch, formally addressed to him, with all his titles, viz.—To the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart., Founder of the Board of Agriculture, F.R.S., D.C.L., &c.* Every event of consequence in our domestic circle was followed by an

* To these and other authorized characters, my father's jocular friend, George Dempster, sometimes added, T. U. V. W. X. Y. Z.: thus indicating what algebraists would term *unknown quantities* of merit.

address of congratulation or condolence from poor Quinton, who, regularly on my father's birthday, placed a neatly written card upon his table, expressing George Quinton's hope that the following year would be spent as usefully and as happily as the past. This annual tribute of affection, he afterwards quietly abstracted, having ascertained that it had been read; sixteen, carefully tied up, and written on both sides (lest some accident should have turned the blank side uppermost), were found among his papers after his decease. The doctrines which he heard on Sundays must have been rather miscellaneous, as his practice was to walk as far as possible into the country, till it was nearly time for morning service, when he would hasten to the nearest place of worship, of whatever denomination it might chance to be. He was much delighted with the scenery around Edinburgh, and completed a drawing of the town from the Calton Hill, one of the most minutely accurate representations I have ever seen. None of us saw or heard of the picture till the evening of its completion, when we were informed, by a note in his usual manner, that his work was ready for exhibition. Nothing could exceed Quinton's look of triumph as he unfolded the performance, nor the expressions of admiration which it elicited from all observers. One of the ladies, however, ventured to point out certain strange figures, which might expose the artist to ill-natured censure. In particular, an object in the foreground was referred

to, being the representation of a female standing, like one of Astley's amazons, upon a horse at full gallop, and it was only hinted that this apparition might mislead foreigners who saw the picture as to the usual mode of female horsemanship in Scotland. The sensitive draughtsman was so morbidly indignant at the discovery of a single fault in his masterpiece, that he never showed it again, though often solicited, and it was found after his death in his portfolio, with the obnoxious figures destroyed.

During my father's last visit to London, his portrait by West was left under the care of Quinton, who had obtained permission to copy it. This copy absorbed his whole attention. He gave himself hardly time to eat or sleep. He expected that his performance would be a *chef-d'œuvre*, and establish him as an artist. He often told the servants that he would yet be seen "riding in his coach." But the excitement was too great for the affectionate but sickly copyist. His strength decayed, his appetite entirely failed, his vital functions nearly ceased. Hearing that he had been suddenly taken ill, I hastened to visit him, and found him in extreme exhaustion. He was able, however, to converse satisfactorily upon religious subjects, and expressed himself with more clearness than I had reason to expect. After a suitable exhortation, I promised to return in a few hours, but meanwhile he had expired.

The remaining pages of this work will naturally be

employed in an account of my father's preparation for the closing scene of his honourable life. I have already in my first chapter mentioned, that he received in early youth a religious education from his excellent mother, and in her had seen a living example of practical piety. "Under her care," he says (in a private memorandum upon the subject), "I was accustomed to read the scriptures ; to pray regularly ; and to attend the ordinances of religion." There are still extant among his papers various evidences of the timely impression made by Christian principle upon his mind, in hymns, forms of prayer, and striking quotations from the best divines. At a later period, however, after he had entered upon public life, and had become immersed in those absorbing pursuits, which, without habitual watchfulness and prayer, are so apt to weaken, and even paralyse religious feelings, he had reason to lament, as he himself acknowledged, that spiritual interests were in a great degree forgotten. His moral character continued irreproachable, but his piety had declined. On one occasion, his friend Arthur Young, with a fidelity not common in the world, ventured to remonstrate with him on his spiritual lukewarmness. "Your conduct," said Mr Young, "surprises me beyond measure. You are a moral man. You do all the good in your power ; you fulfil with great strictness all your relative duties ; but you are not a Christian. You hardly ever attend the public ordinances of religion. You rarely, if ever, read the Bible, and

you probably neglect private prayer. How can you, who know that you ought to act differently, expect to prosper? Think of these things before it is too late."

This kind remonstrance was taken in good part, although it was in one respect too severe; for a form of private prayer, composed by my grandfather, was used by my father daily through out his long life. He confessed, however, with regret, that the expostulation, upon the whole, was too well-founded; but that it was ineffectual at the time. "The admonition," says he, "however just, made only a transient impression upon my mind. Numerous schemes for serving the public, or for benefiting my friends, occupied my whole attention."

At length a number of providential circumstances combined to revive the holy flame of early piety. Affliction overtook him. Many of his best concerted projects failed. Acts of kindness were repaid with ingratitude. Disinterested actions were ascribed to selfish policy. Giving undivided attention to public business, he had too much neglected, not only his religious but his family affairs; debts rapidly accumulated; his Indian claims, by which he hoped to clear them, were rejected, and sales of property became necessary, which it cost him much distress to part with. "At home," he says, "I enjoyed much domestic happiness, but every thing without assumed a most gloomy aspect."

About this time, his constant friend, Bishop Wat-

son, died. The last letter of that eminent man was a solemn warning to prepare for futurity. Like himself, the Bishop had been engrossed too much by worldly cares, and actuated inordinately by ambition. The two friends had been often and long associated in pursuits merely political or literary ; and the Bishop, at the time of writing his farewell, had been visited with those presages of dissolution, which, however unavailing to the foolhardy and the reprobate, are so wisely fitted to instruct mankind in the nothingness of all pursuits but one. After describing the acute pain he suffered, and the utter inability of the physicians to anticipate the result, he continues : “ therefore I consult none, but wait with fortitude and humble trust the exit of this life, and the beginning of another. Your affectionate friend. R. L.”

The earnest exhortations of another valued correspondent, Mr Wilberforce, appear also to have made a salutary impression upon my father’s mind. The following may be given as an example :

“ Brighton, 4th Dec. 1815.

“ My dear Sir John,

“ I do admire your indefatigable and inexhaustible energy ; and I must say I respect that versatility in the direction of your powers, which entitles you in another way to the praise which Dr Johnson, with all his *disaffection* towards dissenters, lavished on Dr Watts ; for that he, the same man, could at one time

enter the lists with Locke and Leibnitz, and at another write hymns for children of seven years old.

“ But, my dear Sir John, suffer me, and that with real seriousness, and real good-will, to express a wish, that, as whatever may be your success in the extension of longevity, your period and mine for going hence must soon arrive, you would expend some of your attention on what will follow after we shall have stript off this mortal coil; the rather because we are assured in that book, which, after close enquiry, I believe to be of divine authority, that in order to secure for ourselves the happiness offered to us hereafter, there must be great labour and much diligence. But then we know that labour and diligence in that effort only, if exerted with simplicity of intention, can never fail. But I will trespass on your time no longer, but will hasten to subscribe myself, my dear Sir John, yours sincerely, W. WILBERFORCE.”

The death of my eldest sister, and the publication of her work on the Principles of the Christian Faith, had also a great influence in drawing her father's mind to considerations of a strictly religious character.

The difficulties, indeed, to which I have referred, passed away—but meantime the sufferer had profited by the painful but instructive lesson. He had learnt to look upon the trials and vicissitudes of human life with the serene eye of Christian wisdom, and to refer prosperity and adversity alike to the all-merciful Dis-

poser of both. "I began once more," he says, "to appreciate the value of devotion, and to profit by the scriptures as the only source of present, but more especially of future happiness."

From papers written after this period, it appears that Christian principles, Christian hopes and consolations gradually acquired ascendancy over his mind. I am gratified to find among his papers, various evidences of religious feeling. Several forms of prayer occur, adapted to his own private exigencies, as well as to the political aspect of the times.

In 1821, he drew up with his own hand a testamentary document, in which, after solemn profession of his faith in the Jewish and Christian scriptures as declarations of the Divine will, he acknowledges his unfitness as a fallen creature to abide the scrutiny of Omniscient justice, and humbly prays forgiveness through the mediation of his Redeemer.

Another interesting paper is a short address, in 1823, to surviving connexions, on the impropriety of indulging grief for the loss of near relations or particular friends. He contends that Christians, when visited with bereavement, should not withdraw in sullen dependency from the duties of their station; but should manifest their Christianity by their patience, looking forward with cheerful hope to re-union in a better world, and taking comfort from the reflection of David—"I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me."

In another paper, my father deprecates that gloomy and ascetic piety which abandons the public service, leaving the helm of state to be directed by the violent, the selfish, and the profane. "How," he asks, "can religion or morality prosper, if those who ought to be their defenders, and who profess to honour them, choose to leave themselves without power and without influence?" His own experience of public life impressed upon him deeply the importance of religious example in high stations, and he condemns in terms of strong indignation the cowardice of those otherwise worthy men, who, suffering their upright motives to be overborne by timidity and indolence, fly for shelter to obscurity, instead of standing boldly forward to stem or turn aside the general torrent of licentiousness.

The satisfaction he derived from joining in the communion made him lament the practice of the Scottish national establishment, which withholds a privilege so consolatory from the sick and the dying. It seemed anomalous that one sacrament, by the regulations of the church, might be administered in a private room, while the other was restricted to the usual places of public worship; for which, after all, no peculiar sanctity was claimed. He endeavoured to prevail on some of his clerical friends to bring the subject before the General Assembly, and a paper is still extant, containing the regulations, under which, as he conceived, the privilege might be conceded.

For some years before his death, he assembled every day his family for divine worship, and was anxious, on such occasions, that the prayers offered should recognise the great leading doctrines of the gospel, and express, in the fullest manner, feelings of humility, confidence, and thankfulness. Like Dr Johnson, he sometimes commenced the new year with an appropriate prayer. That which he wrote for the last new year of his life, and which he intended as an addition to the usual family devotions, may be here inserted as a specimen of these compositions.

“ Almighty and most merciful Father, thou only giver of every true and perfect gift, we bow down before Thee, acknowledging our many past transgressions, and entreating thy favour, thy mercy, and protection for the time to come. More especially, we implore thy gracious acceptance of our humble thanksgivings for thy goodness towards us during the year that has just closed—during which, no calamity has befallen any member of the family, while the whole of it has been distinguished by unceasing marks of thy Providential care. We humbly pray, most gracious Father, for the continuance of thy goodness during the year that has now commenced. May it be marked, equally with the last, by the tokens of thy mercy, and call forth the gratitude which thy beneficence so justly claims. With that firm reliance on the mediation of our blessed Saviour, which this season of the year so peculiarly calls forth, we conclude these humble pe-

titions in the words which he himself hath taught us. Our Father," &c.

It was among his maxims, that the diseases of old age, and the calamities of life, are not to be lamented ; being necessary to wean our hearts from the world, and lead us to prepare for another. The " loss of parents," he added, " of children, of near relatives, and intimate friends, all unite in rendering it desirable to quit this temporary abode. In fact, we aged persons become strangers upon earth, and can be hardly otherwise than willing to withdraw from it."

The influence of religion appeared from the increasing placidity and cheerfulness of his temper amidst increasing infirmities. At such a season, the man who survives his contemporaries, when his heart is not elevated by religion, has generally outlived his chief earthly happiness ; he is apt to become peevish in his habits, and lukewarm in his affections, frowning with austerity on even innocent enjoyments when he can no longer share them : while consciousness of decaying energy makes him suspicious of contempt. The force of circumstances, or perhaps the maxims of a cold and stern philosophy, may render him indifferent to the world from which he is soon to be withdrawn, but it is only the powers of the world to come that can keep alive in us the charities and amenities of life, at the same time that they detach us from its vanities, and sustain, even in the departing spirit, a benevolent anxiety as to the present and future lot of those to be left behind.

At no period of his long life did my father take so warm an interest in even the ordinary proceedings of his family as immediately before his death. He spent his time more than ever in their society. Each of us appeared to become dearer to him as the period of separation seemed more at hand. When any of us was absent, the vacant seat in the domestic circle immediately caught his eye, and excited affectionate enquiry. He grew more considerate than ever towards his dependents, and studied to prevent his infirmities from interfering with their comfort. Some months before his death, understanding that his confidential servant, Charles Macbean, was accustomed to have family worship at his own house every evening, he resolved on retiring to rest an hour before the time to which he had been accustomed. "My heart sunk within me," said this faithful domestic, "when Sir John announced to me this kind intention; I feared that he would not long be spared."

Advancing years and a decaying constitution forewarned him of dissolution, but he contemplated the event with Christian fortitude and calmness. It was remarkable how little he dreaded the physical concomitants of death. Two years before he died, residing at Portobello, near Edinburgh, he one night felt so unwell, that he did not expect to survive till morning. He called up one of his sons, stated his apprehensions to him, gave him minute directions as

to the arrangement and disposal of various papers, intrusted him with messages of affectionate regard to different friends, and concluded with injunctions to withdraw quietly to rest, and leave the family undisturbed.

On his return from London after his last visit in 1835, my father for some time continued his ordinary habits. Accompanied by Lady Sinclair, to whom he uniformly and justly ascribed a large proportion of his earthly happiness, he every day took an airing in his carriage, and occasionally exercised hospitality, entertaining his friends with his wonted cheerfulness. His medical advisers exhorted him to relax his literary exertions; but with very partial success. On other points more immediately connected with their department, on the subject, namely, of diet, and medicine, and bodily exercise, his habits of temperance had long enabled him to observe the strictest discipline that could be enforced. But his habitual activity of mind, and his intense desire to complete his Code of Religion, made him frequently rebel against all prescriptions enjoining mental relaxation.

On the 15th December, 1835, he was seized with his last illness. On the preceding day he had taken his usual drive alone, as Lady Sinclair, from illness, had been unable to accompany him. He had gone as far as Lasswade, a village seven miles from Edinburgh, but did not appear fatigued on his return.

He entertained afterwards Professor Forbes, Macdonald of Staffa, and a few other friends at dinner. He derived much enjoyment from their society, and for some time sat up after their departure, commenting with vivacity on the topics discussed in the conversation of the evening.

Next morning, however, when his servant went to awaken him, he was found in a state of great exhaustion, and had evidently spent a restless night. Two medical friends, Dr Abercrombie and Mr Hamilton Bell, were in immediate attendance. They ascertained that he was not suffering from apoplexy, as had been apprehended, but merely from extreme prostration of strength, the natural result of over exertion in old age, when no reaction takes place in the system. They were at first much alarmed, but, as no symptom of organic disease appeared, began to hope that the timely use of stimulants might restore him. They enjoined rest, and pressed upon him the necessity of abstinence from all exertion, mental or bodily, a rule which even now he found it difficult to observe. He seldom attempted to leave his bed, but sometimes insisted upon transferring to paper ideas on the various subjects which occupied his ever busy mind. He wished all the family to visit him in succession at short intervals, and being unable to attend as usual the family devotions, directed that the chapter chosen for that occasion should be again read to him in private, accompanied by appropriate prayers. The

8th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans particularly engaged his attention ; he remarked on its consolatory tendency, and in allusion to the recent death of Captain the Honourable Charles Norton, exclaimed, “ I wish our excellent friend his mother could hear this chapter. I am sure it would do her good.” One night he desired his attendant to read a short work on the Christian Evidences, and would not allow her to stop till a considerable portion had been perused. He frequently expressed pious gratitude for his exemption from all bodily suffering, and for the numerous comforts which yet remained to him. His chief apprehension seemed to be on account of my mother, lest her health should suffer from anxiety ; and he often alluded to the distress by which the absent members of the family would be afflicted when made aware of his situation.

After a few days he seemed much revived, and we began to hope that all immediate danger was over. How far the patient participated in these hopes cannot be known, as he must have felt it necessary, in the decay of his physical energy, to avoid a scene so deeply touching in an attached family as a last farewell.

My last conversation with him was on the morning of the 21st, when, after topics of a more serious nature, I accidentally mentioned that I was going to attend a meeting on the Religious Education of the Highlanders. This led him to express his warm

attachment to the people of the Highlands, and his deep regret that their moral and religious welfare had been hitherto so imperfectly provided for. These were the last words I heard him utter. In the afternoon of that day, a week from the commencement of his illness, symptoms of immediate dissolution suddenly alarmed us. Medical advice was resorted to, but without effect. As he felt his end approaching, he ordered every one to withdraw. "All is now over," said he; "retire, that I may pray." He closed the curtains, and his voice was heard in audible supplication to Almighty God. Soon after he had ceased, it was ascertained that he had fainted. From this state he did not recover; and such was the serenity of his departure, that though several of us were watching anxiously around him, it was impossible to tell at what moment he expired.

The funeral took place on the 30th December, in the Royal Chapel of Holyrood. It was intended that the ceremonial should be strictly private; but the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and a deputation from the Highland Society of Scotland, requested leave to attend.

Sir John Sinclair in early life was tall, well proportioned, and athletic. He was six feet two inches in height. His features were formed nearly after the Grecian model. His usual air was that of gravity and thoughtfulness, although few could relax with more unaffected ease into an expression of good-

humoured cheerfulness. He was always of a spare habit; and as he advanced in life stooped considerably. Many representations of him are extant by eminent artists; in particular, two full-length portraits, one by West, and the other by Sir Henry Raeburn. Both represent him in the uniform of his fencible regiment: a dress which he delighted to wear long after that corps had ceased to exist. The picture by Raeburn is among his finest works, even superior to the rival performance of the President. Besides dignity and grace in the attitude, there is a vividness in the colouring which so closely approaches to nature, as to realize Sir Walter Scott's well known remark, that "Raeburn's Highland Chieftains do all but step out of the canvass."

In the intellectual character of Sir John Sinclair, the leading features were fertility of invention and indomitable perseverance. He was rather a man of talent than of genius: he occasionally amused himself with poetry, but was not successful in that branch of composition. As a speaker he was argumentative and emphatic, but not brilliant; better fitted to convince than to persuade. During his career in Parliament the House of Commons was accustomed to the most magnificent efforts of rhetorical power; to such he never aspired. Both his taste and his judgment led him to prefer clear business-like statements and solid reasonings. Occasionally, indeed, we find a passage in his speeches rising to great eloquence, but his

ordinary style was calm, argumentative, and unostentatious. His early writings are confessedly superior to his later compositions: they possess more energy, and are unencumbered by those minute subdivisions, which, though adopted for the sake of perspicuity, sometimes embarrass and fatigue the reader. His works are voluminous, but notwithstanding this disadvantage (for such it often is) they are redundant rather in facts than in words. The information he accumulated upon the various subjects of which he treats is immense; for he studiously improved every opportunity of acquiring knowledge, and endeavoured to make every possessor of it, to whom he could gain access, a contributor to the general stock. Few men knew so well how to elicit information from persons least habituated to communicate their ideas.

The value of his long-continued labours was acknowledged by all classes, both at home and abroad. King George III. bestowed upon him the rank of baronet, admitted him a member of his Privy Council, and was understood to have intended for him higher marks of royal favour. Twenty-two counties in Scotland voted him thanks for his services to agriculture, and their example was followed in various towns, by the inhabitants of which he was regarded less as an indefatigable friend to husbandry than as a general benefactor to his country. He was received into a large proportion of the literary, scientific, and

agricultural societies at home; and his list of foreign diplomas amounts to twenty-five.*

* *List of Diplomas from Foreign Countries sent to
Sir John Sinclair.*

Countries.	Institutions.
1. France.	1. The Royal Society of Agriculture at Paris.
	2. Dijon Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Belles Lettres.
	3. The Society of Sciences and Arts at Lisle.
	4. Society of La Seine Inférieure, at Rouen.
	5. The Central Society of the Department du Nord, in France.
2. Flanders.	6. Agricultural Society of Ghent.
3. Prussia.	7. Royal Academy of Berlin.
	8. Brandenburg Economical Society.
	9. Agricultural Society of Vienna.
4. Austria.	10. Imperial Royal Agricultural Society of Styria.
5. Saxony.	11. Leipsic Agricultural Society.
6. Wurtemberg.	12. Wurtemberg Board of Agriculture.
7. Germany.	13. Agricultural Society of Zell.
8. Sweden.	14. Royal Society of Stockholm.
	15. Academy of Agriculture at Stockholm.
9. Denmark.	16. Royal Agricultural Society of Denmark.
	17. Literary Society of Iceland.
10. Russia.	18. Imperial Agricultural Society of Moscow.
	19. Free Agricultural Society of Russia.
11. Italy.	20. Florence Agricultural Society.
12. United States.	21. American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
	22. Historical Society of New York.
	23. Philadelphia Society of Agriculture.
	24. The Maryland Agricultural Society.
13. West Indies.	25. Agricultural Society of Santa Cruz.

It was chiefly by adherence to the strictest rules of temperance, that Sir John Sinclair, with unimpaired faculties, outlived the ordinary term of mortal existence. During his long life, he never once transgressed the rules of sobriety. Having ascertained the kind of diet best adapted to his constitution, he adhered to it from year to year, with undeviating regularity. His chief imprudence regarded expenditure. He forgot limited amount of means, when objects of great national interest were to be secured.

No patron could have greater zeal for advancing the interests of his friends, or for encouraging meritorious individuals, however obscure in station or depressed in fortune. About two hundred persons owed to him their success in life.* He never cherished enmity towards those who opposed or injured him. He was even blamed for not distinguishing sufficiently between supporters and opponents, friends and enemies. He envied no man's reputation, but was eager to advance it wherever it was well deserved—a generosity which he did not always himself experience. He was no violent partisan; but admired talent and worth in men of all political sentiments; and although a hearty and zealous patriot, he never permitted national rivalries nor antipathies to bias his moral judg-

* When it was reported to him that one of these beneficiaries had said, "Sir John did no more for me than write a letter," his observation was, "Little does — think how much care, and toil, and expense it has cost me to have the power of writing such a letter."

ment in the case of individuals. His charities perhaps were too indiscriminate. He was unable to resist importunity, even of suspicious applicants ; and although in theory a political economist, on the side of feeling he was a Christian.

His piety shrunk from all display. He cherished an habitual reverence for the Supreme Being, and abhorred all approach to profaneness. He had, indeed, at one time, partly substituted usefulness to mankind for those high religious motives which are the only true foundation of beneficence ; but he happily learnt afterwards to discriminate between external conformity to moral rules, and a complete devotion of the soul to its Creator ; he learnt to acknowledge that a moral agent may even deserve applause from men, while in relation to the purity and majesty of God, he stands guilty and condemned. In the doctrines of Christianity my venerable parent saw the only ground of religious hope, and rising from the mere intimations of nature to the assurances of revelation, anticipated, with humble confidence, “ the life and immortality brought to light by the Gospel.”

[*The Following Catalogue of the various Books, Tracts, and Papers printed by Sir John Sinclair, is probably incomplete, but it includes all those of which he himself happened to reserve a copy.*]

BOOKS

WRITTEN BY

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR HIMSELF.

	VOLS.
1 Observations on the Scottish Dialect, 1782, 8vo,	1
2 History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire, 1784; the first edition in two volumes, 4to; two subsequent editions in three volumes, 8vo,	3
3 General View of the Agriculture of the Northern Counties and Islands of Scotland, including the Counties of Cromarty, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, and the Islands of Orkney and Shetland; with Observations on the Means of their Improvement, 4to, 1795,	1
4 Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects, 8vo, 1802,	1
5 An Account of the Systems of Husbandry adopted in the more improved districts of Scotland, 8vo, 1812,	2
6 Dissertation on the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian, with an Appendix, 1807,	1
Carry forward,	9

	Brought forward,	VOLS. 9
7	Code of Health and Longevity; or a Concise View of the Principles calculated for the Preservation of Health, and the Attainment of Long Life, 1807; first edition in four vols. 8vo; four subsequent editions, each in one vol. 8vo,	4
8	Code of Agriculture, including Observations on Gardens, Orchards, Woods, and Plantations, 1817; five editions, 8vo,	1
9	Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland, with a General View of the History of that Country, 1825; 2 parts,	2
10	Correspondence of the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart.; with Reminiscences of the most Distinguished Characters who have appeared in Great Britain and in Foreign Countries during the last fifty years, 1831; 8vo,	2
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BOOKS, THE GENERAL PLAN OF WHICH WAS SUGGESTED
BY SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, AND WHICH WERE PRINTED
UNDER HIS DIRECTION.

		VOLS.
1	Statistical Account of Scotland, drawn up from the communications of the Ministers of the different Parishes, 1791-9; 8vo,	21
2	Original County Agricultural Reports, 4to,	10
3	Reprinted County Agricultural Reports of England, Scotland, Wales, and the Isle of Man, 8vo,	70
4	General Report of the Agricultural State and Political Circumstances of Scotland, 1814; 8vo,	5
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PAPERS AND PAMPHLETS BY SIR JOHN SINCLAIR.

1782.

- 1 Thoughts on the Naval Strength of the British Empire, Part I.
- 2 Do. Part II.
- 3 Lucubrations during a Short Recess.
- 4 The Impulse of the Moment.
- 5 Public Hints to the Independent Senators of Great Britain, in four numbers.
- 6 Thoughts on the Propriety of Dissolving the Present Parliament.
- 7 Reflections on the Expediency of Increasing the Present Number of the Representatives of the People.
- 8 Considerations on Militias and Standing Armies, with some Observations on the Plan of Defence suggested by the Earl of Shelburne.

1783.

- 9 An Historical Essay on Addison.
- 10 Hints addressed to the Public on the State of our Finances ; three editions.
- 11 Memoir, containing a Plan for Re-establishing Public Credit and the Finances of the Country.
- 12 The Propriety of Retaining Gibraltar Impartially Considered.

1787.

- 13 General Observations regarding the Present Political Circumstances of the Kingdom of Denmark.
- 14 Do. the Kingdom of Sweden.
- 15 Do. the Russian Empire.
- 16 Letters to the Chamber of Commerce at Edinburgh on the Subject of the Corn Laws.
- 17 Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland on Shetland Wool, with an Appendix con-

taining Papers drawn up by Sir John Sinclair and Dr Anderson in reference to the said Report.

1791.

- 18 Address to the Landed Interest on the Corn Bill now depending in Parliament.
- 19 Address to the Society for the Improvement of British Wool. Two editions.

1792.

- 20 Plan for Converting Cattle Farms into Sheep Farms without Depopulating the Country.
- 21 Description of the Cheviot Breed of Sheep, with an Analysis of a Cheviot Sheep Farm.
- 22 Plan for Establishing a Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvement.
- 23 Speech in Parliament on Proposing the Establishment of a Board of Agriculture.
- 24 Address to the Board of Agriculture on the First Day of its being Assembled.
- 25 Address to the Clergy of the Church of England on the Nature and Principles of Statistical Philosophy.
- 26 Specimens of Statistical Reports, dedicated to the Right Hon. William Pitt, with an Address to the Reader explaining the Nature and Principles of Statistical Philosophy.
- 27 Song for the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles.
- 28 Address to the Board of Agriculture, stating the progress that has been made by the Board, and the advantage that may be expected from its improving the territory of the kingdom.

1795.

- 29 Thoughts on Peace, and the Conditions on which the Present War might be terminated.

- 30 Hints respecting the State of the Camp at Aberdeen, with some Observations on Encampments in general.
- 31 Address to the Board of Agriculture, stating the Progress that has been made in carrying on the measures undertaken by the Board for the improvement of the country during the second session of its establishment.
- 32 Address to the Members of the Board of Agriculture on the Apprehended Scarcity.
- 33 General View of the Enquiries essential for the internal improvement of the kingdom, with the plan for reprinting the Agricultural Surveys in a corrected form.

1796.

- 34 Address to the Board of Agriculture, stating the Progress that has been made by the Board during the third session since its establishment.
- 35 Plan of an Agreement among the Powers of Europe and the United States of America, for the purpose of rewarding discoveries for the general benefit of society.

1797.

- 36 Address to the Farmers of Great Britain and Ireland, with a Plan for the more speedy conveyance of his Majesty's Forces.
- 37 Thoughts respecting the ensuing Campaign on the Borders of Italy, and its probable issue.
- 38 Address to the Board of Agriculture.

1798.

- 39 Thoughts on the Dismissal of the Present Ministers, and the Restoration of Peace, addressed to the worthy Livery of the city of London.
- 40 Statistical Account of the Parish of Thurso, in the County of Caithness.

- 41 Hints on the Present Alarming Crisis.
- 42 Letters on the State of the Nation, addressed to Lord Thurlow.
- 43 Observations regarding the Remuneration applied for by the Fencible Regiments.
- 44 Proposals for Establishing a Joint Stock Tontine Company with a capital of L.60,000, for the purpose of ascertaining the principles of Agricultural Improvement, and the other sources of public prosperity.
- 45 Speech on the Bill for Imposing a Tax on Income.
- 46 Cursory Observations on the Military System of Great Britain, in so far as respects the formation of a Corps of Infantry.
- 47 Thoughts on Circulation and Paper Currency, with some Observations on the Means of Preventing the Distresses to which the Mercantile Interest is so frequently exposed from the Scarcity of Money, and of rendering the Tax on Income less burdensome to individuals, and more productive to the Exchequer.

1800.

- 48 Hints regarding the advantages that may be derived by the public in general, and by the Landed interest in particular, from the Establishment of a Corporation, with a large capital devoted to Agricultural improvement.
- 49 Proposals for establishing, by subscription, a New Institution, to be called the Plough, or Joint Stock Farming Society, for the purpose of ascertaining the principles of Agricultural improvement.
- 50 Account of the Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles, drawn up by Colonel Sir John Sinclair.
- 51 Enquiry into the State of Scotland.

1801.

- 52 Observations on the means of enabling a Cottager to

keep a Cow, by the produce of a small portion of Arable land.

- 53 Sketch of an Intended System of Education for George Sinclair, from the 12th to the 24th year of his age, submitted to the consideration of those who have made the Education of Youth the object of their particular attention.
- 54 Culture of Potatoes.
- 55 A Note of Various Measures calculated for the Improvement of the County of Caithness, carrying on in 1801.

1802.

- 56 Sketch of a System of Education for a Young Gentleman intended for public life.
- 57 A short statement of various measures calculated for the Improvement of the County of Caithness, carrying on in the course of the year 1802.
- 58 Sketch of an Introduction to the proposed Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland, as drawn up for the consideration of a few intelligent friends.
- 59 An account of the Corn Stands at Woburn Abbey.
- 60 Hints as to the advantages of Old Pastures, and on the conversion of Grass lands into tillage.

1803.

- 61 Proposals for a Tontine on a new principle, by the establishment of Age Annuities, increasing by survivorship, and a division of the whole sum thereby raised among the ultimate survivors.
- 62 On the Political State of Europe, drawn up for the consideration of a foreign Statesman in a high political situation.
- 63 Impartial Thoughts on Peace and War, together with

some Hints regarding the ability of Great Britain to carry on the contest, should it be unavoidable.

- 64 Hints submitted to the consideration of the Select Committee, to whom the survey of the coasts and central Highlands of Scotland has been referred, including some observations on the advantages of domestic colonization.
- 65 A short Statement of various measures calculated for the improvement of the County of Caithness in 1803.

1804.

- 66 Observations on the Propriety of Preserving the Dress, the Language, the Poetry, the Music, and the Customs of the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, addressed to the Highland Societies of London and of Scotland.
- 67 Queries addressed to the Respectable and Independent Members of both Houses in April 1804.

1806.

- 68 An Account of the Moss Improvements of John Wilkinson, Esq. of Castlehead in Lancashire.
- 69 Plan of a Society for promoting Agricultural improvement, to be constituted by a Royal or Parliamentary Charter.

1807.

- 70 Introductory Observations, pointing out some additional measures submitted to the consideration of the Board of Agriculture.
- 71 Result of enquiries recently made regarding Athletic Exercises.

1808.

- 72 Plan of a Society for ascertaining the Means of preserving Health.

1809.

- 73 Address to the Chairman, Deputy-Chairman, and Directors of the Honourable East India Company.
- 74 Hints regarding the absolute necessity of greater energy in conducting our Military operations.

1810.

- 75 Observations on the Report of the Bullion Committee. Three editions.
- 76 Remarks on Mr Huskisson's Pamphlet, with an explanation of the real nature and advantages of the present system of circulation.
- 77 Genealogy of the Sinclairs of Ulbster.
- 78 Cursory Hints regarding Paper Currency.
- 79 Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Ireland on the proceedings which have lately taken place for dissolving the Union between the two Kingdoms.

1811.

- 80 An Account of James Small, and of his Improvements in the construction of Agricultural Implements.
- 81 Miscellaneous Papers, drawn up occasionally as a relaxation from severer studies.
- 82 On the State of Society at Edinburgh.
- 83 Speech on the Report of the Bullion Committee on Wednesday the 15th of May.
- 84 Address to the Dalkeith Monthly Farming Club, at a meeting held on the 26th of December, 1811.

1812.

- 85 Hints regarding the means of enabling Great Britain to surmount her present financial difficulties, and to provide her people with food from her domestic resources.
- 86 Political Maxims regarding the Importance of Agriculture and the means of its Improvement.

- 87 On more economical modes of Feeding Horses.
- 88 An account of the improvements carried on by Sir John Sinclair, Bart. on his Estates in Scotland.
- 89 Hints submitted to the consideration of the Board of Agriculture.

1813.

- 90 An account of the Highland Society of London, from its establishment in May 1778, to the commencement of the Year 1813. Drawn up at the desire of the Society.
- 91 Letter from the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart., to George Sinclair, Esq., regarding the Literary undertakings he has in contemplation.
- 92 Some particulars regarding the origin and progress of a work entitled, An Account of the Husbandry of Scotland, more especially as practised in its best cultivated districts: dedicated by Sir John Sinclair to his Sons.
- 93 Hints regarding the Renewal of the Charter of the East India Company.
- 94 Political maxims regarding the importance of Agriculture and the means of its improvement.
- 95 Address to the Board of Agriculture.

1814.

- 96 Hints on the Agricultural advantages to be derived from our East Indian Possessions.
- 97 Letter to the Proprietors of the Public Funds in General, and of Bank Stock in particular.
- 98 An address to the Mercantile Interest on the means of promoting the Commercial prosperity of the country.
- 99 Letter to the Planters, Merchants, and others interested in the improvement and prosperity of our West

India Islands, and the Colonies of Demerara and Essequibo.

- 100 Hints regarding the use of Coffee as a beverage, and on the art of making it, addressed to the members of the Alfred.
- 101 Letter to the Committee of Merchants interested in the Warehousing or Bonding System.

1815.

- 102 Thoughts on the Agricultural and Financial state of the country, and on the means of rescuing the landed and farming interests from their present depressed state.
- 103 Hints regarding the Agriculture of the Netherlands, compared with that of Great Britain, and some observations on the means of diminishing the expense of growing corn, of preventing the mildew in Wheat, the rot in Sheep, and the introduction of other Improvements into British Agriculture.
- 104 Account of some experiments to promote the improvement of Fruit Trees, by peeling the bark, with a description of the instruments calculated for that purpose, and engravings of them.
- 105 On the Peace Establishment.
- 106 History of the Campaign of the British, Dutch, Hanooverian, and Brunswick Armies, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, and of the Prussians, under Prince Blucher of Wahlstadt, by C. de M.; with additional particulars, and an appendix, by Sir John Sinclair.
- 107 Ode on the Restoration of the House of Orange.
- 108 A Messieurs les Rédacteurs de l'Observateur.

1816.

- 109 On Circulation and Coin, and the means of arresting the Progress of our Public Calamities.
- 110 Four Letters on the Distresses of the Times.

- 111 On the State of the Country in December 1816.
- 112 Plan of a Society for the Preservation of Health, in particular of the Inhabitants of the Metropolis.

1817.

- 113 Plan of a Chartered Company to promote the establishment of Country Banks, and for placing them on a footing of public security and private advantage.
- 114 On the Means of Arresting the Progress of National Calamity. Two editions.

1818.

- 115 On the approaching Crisis ; or, on the Impracticability and Injustice of resuming Cash-Payments at the Bank in July, 1818, and on the means of elevating the internal prosperity of the British Empire to a height hitherto unparalleled, by a judicious application of the Profits derived from a farther suspension of payments in Cash.
- 116 A General View of the Principles of the Christian Faith, as explained in Miss Hannah Sinclair's Treatise on that subject.
- 117 On the Means by which the Question respecting the Resumption of Cash-Payments at the Bank might be finally adjusted.

1819.

- 118 Plan for Establishing, by a Royal or Parliamentary Charter, a Company with a large Capital, for carrying on the Cultivation of the Waste Lands of the Kingdom, and promoting domestic Colonization, while, by employing the Poor in Agricultural Improvements, the heavy burden of the Poor-rates will be materially diminished.
- 119 Evidence to prove that the celebrated air, called "Grammachree Molly," was composed in Scotland.

- 120 Prospectus explaining the Nature and Superior Advantages of "the Codean System of Knowledge," with the Plan of an Association, for the collection and diffusion of Useful Information.
- 121 Observations respectfully submitted to the Select and Secret Committees of both Houses of Parliament, appointed to consider the propriety of resuming Cash Payments, or continuing the Bank Restriction.
- 122 Thoughts on Paper Circulation, with some remarks on the Speech of the Earl of Liverpool in the House of Peers on the report of the Bank Committee, and a Plan for re-establishing the Financial circumstances of the Country.
- 123 Thoughts on the Agricultural Question, with Observations on the Arguments brought forward in support of an unlimited importation of Foreign Corn.
- 124 Address to the Reformers of Great Britain in general, and of Glasgow in particular, on the Plans they have in view.
- 125 On the State of the Nation, and on the necessity of energetic Measures, and a Union of Parties, to save the Country from destruction.
- 126 Exhortation to the Operative Weavers and other Manufacturers in Glasgow, Paisley, and other Manufacturing Towns and Villages.

1820.

- 127 The Creed of Improved Circulation, explanatory of the Principles of the New System of Currency, and proving that the Distresses of the Country are principally owing to our returning to a circulation—in amount inadequate to our wants, and of Foreign extraction.
- 128 Account of some singular incidents in the Life of the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart.
- 129 Hints on reducing the National Debt.

- 130 Address to the Citizens of Edinburgh, and to the Inhabitants of North Britain in General, on his Majesty's expected Visit to Scotland.
- 131 On the Causes of our National Distresses; arising from the rate of Exchange being rendered favourable to England, in order to force the Importation of Gold, by means of which we impose a burden of above twenty per cent on our exported Manufactures, promote the Investment of British Capital in Foreign Funds, and encourage Emigration.
- 132 On the Means of Improving the Manufacturing, Agricultural, and Financial Circumstances of the Country. Accompanied by two Explanatory Tables.
- 133 Remarks on the Merchants' Petition, and on the Depression of Agriculture.
- 134 Letter on Codification.
- 135 Political Maxims on the subject of Circulation or Currency.
- 136 Correspondence respecting the Financial State of the Country, and in particular its Circulating Medium, between Sir Robert Peel, Bart., Richard Hart Davis, Esq. M.P., Thomas Attwood, Esq. of Birmingham, David Ricardo, Esq. M.P., and the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

1821.

- 137 Plan of a Society for investigating the subject of Circulation, by rewarding those who transmit to the Society the best Information respecting the Currency of Foreign Countries, and the most important suggestions for placing the Circulating Medium of the British Empire on the most advantageous footing.
- 138 Hints as to the most advantageous Mode of Managing the Merino breed of Sheep in Caithness.

- 139 Reparation of St Giles' Church. Copy Circular Letter to the Faculty of Advocates.
- 140 On the Uses of Chamomile Tea.
- 141 Address to the Owners and Occupiers of Land in Great Britain and Ireland, pointing out the most effectual means of remedying the Agricultural Distresses of the Country.
- 142 Hints on the Agricultural Distresses of the Country, and the remedies applicable to them.
- 143 Petition to the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.
- 144 Speech on receiving a Silver Cup from J. W. Coke, Esq. of Norfolk.

1822.

- 145 Address to the Owners and Occupiers of Land in Great Britain and Ireland, pointing out effectual means for remedying the Agricultural Distresses of the Country.
- 146 Hints as to a Motion Sir John Sinclair proposes to make in the General Assembly.
- 147 On the Importance of Scotland as a separate Division of the British Empire.
- 148 Representation in behalf of the Landed and Farming Interests, pointing out the Causes of their Distresses and the Means of remedying them.
- 149 Hints on Circulation, and the Means of Re-establishing the Prosperity of the Country by an Improved System of Currency, uniting the advantages of a Metallic and of a Paper Circulation, with an Account of the Paper Circulation of Scotland, on the basis of which the Prosperity of that part of the United Kingdom has principally arisen.
- 150 Plan for Re-establishing the Power and Prosperity of

the British Empire, by an Improved System of Circulation.

- 151 Devotional Paper on the Distresses of the Country.
- 152 Resolutions suggested to the County of Caithness on the Agricultural State of the Country.
- 153 Letter on Mountain Dew.
- 154 Important Information respecting the Agricultural Question.
- 155 Answer to a Tract recently published by David Ricardo, Esq. M.P., on Protection to Agriculture.
- 156 On the Agricultural Distresses of the Country, and the Means of relieving them, and the necessity of making one united effort in behalf of the Landed and Farming Interests to prevent their general Ruin.

1823.

- 157 Hints to the Officers of the Regiments now ordered on Service in the West Indies, on the means of preserving their Health ; with some Hints applicable to Corps in the East Indies.
- 158 Hints to Persons afflicted with Paralytic or Apoplectic Disorders.
- 159 On the Impropriety of Indulging Grief for the Loss of near Relations or particular Friends.
- 160 Proofs of the numerous Advantages derived from the Bank Restriction, and of the Mischievous Consequences which have resulted from the resumption of Cash-Payments.
- 161 Hints as to a Metallic Currency, and a Free Trade.
- 162 Sketch of a Report from the General Committee appointed by the Associated Counties in Scotland.

1824.

- 163 Plan for Establishing "A Fixed and Permanent Fund," for Promoting the Improvement of Scotland.

1825.

- 164 Defence of the Landed and Farming Interests, pointing out the ruinous effects of any alteration in our present system of Corn Laws, and the important changes to which it would lead in the frame of our Government.
- 165 Resolutions in behalf of the Landed and Farming Interests, submitted to the attention of those who consider Agriculture to be the only permanent source of national prosperity.

1826.

- 166 On the Means of Relieving the present Pecuniary Embarrassments of the Country, and preventing their recurrence; together with the Plan of a Chartered Company for Promoting the Security of Country Banks.
- 167 Address to the Farmers of Great Britain and Ireland, proving that the Landlord and Tenant are equally interested in preserving the established laws of the realm, by which the admission of Foreign Grain into the British market is prohibited unless in times of scarcity.
- 168 On the Hazard of making any permanent alteration in the present system of Corn Laws.
- 169 Hints on the Preservation of Health in Hot Climates.
- 170 On the Ability of the United Kingdom (with the aid of its Colonies) to supply itself with Grain.
- 171 On the Use of Barley or Big, as food for horses.
- 172 Plan for Settling the Corn Question, and Restoring the Agricultural, Commercial, and Financial Prosperity of the United Kingdom.
- 173 On the Paper Circulation of Scotland; Proving that the Success of the Banking System in that Country depends on the Circulation of Small Notes.
- 174 Thoughts on Circulation; Pointing out the Means of Placing the Currency of the Country on a safe and

permanent footing, adequate to the demands of an increased Population—to the wants of Agriculture, Manufactures, and Commerce—and to the supply of an immense Revenue.

- 175 On the Means of Promoting the Prosperity of a Great Political Community, founded on the Information contained in the Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland, and in which the Principles of Statistical Philosophy are explained.
- 176 On the Importance of Oil as a Manure, and the prospect it holds forth of Augmenting our Agricultural Resources. Two numbers.
- 177 The late Prosperity, and the present Adversity of the Country explained; the Proper Remedies considered, and the Comparative Merits of the English and Scottish Systems of Banking discussed, in a Correspondence between Sir John Sinclair and Thomas Attwood, Esq.
- 178 On the Means of giving Public Relief to the Distressed Manufacturers with safety, and the Grounds on which that Measure is justified by Precedent.
- 179 the Cure and Prevention of Fever, Cholera, and other Diseases, by means of Cold Bathing.
- 180 On the Bank Monopoly.

1827.

- 181 Calculations of the Produce and Value of the Potato Crop, and of the means by which we shall be rendered, by a moderately increased cultivation of Potatoes, independent of foreign nations for food, should our domestic resources be inadequate to our supply.
- 182 Plan of a Currency, calculated for the existing circumstances of this Country.
- 183 Observations on Mr Secretary Canning's Plan for Regulating the Corn Trade, with some Hints on the

- Necessity of Uniting the Consideration of the Corn and Currency Questions.
- 184 On the Corn Laws of France, with a Comparison between them and those now proposed to be enacted in Great Britain.
- 185 Address to the Inhabitants of Ireland on the Preservation of the Useful Parts of the Potato for Human Food.
- 186 On various Modes of Feeding Horses, with a view of Saving the Consumption of Oats.
- 187 Address to the Manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland, on their Present Depressed State, and the impossibility of any material amendment without a Change of Currency.
- 188 Corn Laws—Statement submitted to an Adjourned General Meeting of the Landholders and Commissioners of Supply at Edinburgh.
- 189 On the Advantages Derived from the Establishment of a Board of Agriculture in Promoting the Improvement of the Country.
- 190 Proofs of the Advantages which have been derived from the publication of the Code of Health.
- 191 Plan of a National Currency, proving the Necessity of Increasing the Standard Price of Gold to L.5 per ounce, as the only effectual means of insuring the prosperity of the Agricultural, Manufacturing, Commercial, Shipping, and General Interests of the Empire, all of which are suffering severely from the unfortunate Change of Currency.
- 192 Address to the Hygeian Society, instituted for the Improvement and Preservation of Health, and Rewarding those who make Useful Medical Discoveries.
- 193 Reasons for the maintenance and against the Abolition of the present Corn Laws.

- 194 Of the Advantages to be derived by the Productive Classes from a Change of Currency.
- 195 On Crimson Clover.
- 196 Axioms and Maxims as to the Currency.
- 197 Correspondence on the Subject of Currency with Kirkman Finlay, Esq. of Glasgow, John Gladstone, Esq. of Liverpool, and Thomas Attwood, Esq. of Birmingham.
- 198 On the Preservation of the Useful Parts of the Potato for Human Food.
- 199 Proofs of the Advantages derived from the Bank Restriction, and of the mischievous Consequences which have resulted from the Resumption of Cash Payments.

1828.

- 200 Gretna-Green Marriages. On the means of Preventing Clandestine Marriages by Natives of England or Ireland, in Scotland, with the Sketch of a Bill drawn up for that purpose.
- 201 Hints Regarding the Objects of the Extensive Enquiry that has been carried on into the Culture and Uses of the Potato.
- 202 Brief Statement of the Corn Question.
- 203 On Potato Powder, or Farina.
- 204 Thoughts on Catholic Emancipation, and on the Proposal of Dissolving the Union between Great Britain and Ireland.
- 205 Account of a Singular Mode of Preventing Coughs and Sore Throats, by diminishing the Length of the Uvula.
- 206 On the Proposed Alterations in the Entail Laws of Scotland. Letter to the Conveners of the several Counties and Stewartries.
- 207 A Discussion between the Right Honourable Sir John Sinclair, Bart. and William Jacob, Esq. of the Board of Trade, on the subject of the New Corn Laws.

- 208 On the Culture and Uses of Potatoes, accompanied with Engravings and Practical Directions Explanatory of the best modes of Raising, Preparing, and Using that Root.
- 209 Political Maxims, pointing out the Advantages of a Paper Circulation.
- 210 Hints on the Characteristical Qualities of the Irish Nation, and on the Union between Great Britain and Ireland.
- 211 Additional Hints as to the Employment of the Poor in the Cultivation and Manufacture of Potatoes.
- 212 Hints Regarding the Causes of our National Distresses.
- 213 Mode of Settling the Catholic Question, by a Compromise likely to be Acceptable to the Moderate of both Parties.
- 214 Additional Hints on the Corn Laws.
- 215 Address to the People of Scotland on the Catholic Question.
- 216 Address to the Owners and Occupiers of Land in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.
- 217 On Potato Meal.
- 218 Letter to Sir Henry Parnell, Bart. M. P. Chairman of the Financial Committee.
- 219 Hints on the Preservation of Health.
- 220 On the Destructive Consequences Resulting from the Present Mode of Consuming Potatoes, and on the Means of Preserving the Potato entire in its greatest state of perfection.

1829.

- 221 Rational Mode of Employing Time for Invalids, or Persons advanced in years.
- 222 Address to the Public, on Infant Schools.
- 223 A Brief Statement of some of the most Important Ad-

vantages to be derived from Improving our Settlements at the Cape of Good Hope, and at the Mauritius, with a Short Detail of the Measures calculated for that purpose.

- 224 To the Secretary of the Society for the Improvement of Ireland.
- 225 Letter to the Commissioners for Carrying on the Improvements in the City of Edinburgh, pointing out some Alterations in the Plans now in contemplation.
- 226 On the Great Importance of the Wool Question in a National Point of View.
- 227 On the Means of Preventing the Ravages of Slugs, Grubs, the Wire-Worm, and the Wheat Fly (or *Tipula Tritici*) on our crops of Wheat.
- 228 On Protestant Emancipation, or an Exposition of the Immense Losses which this Protestant Nation has sustained from the horrors of an Unjust and Oppressive Currency, and an Explanation of the ruinous consequences which must ensue if the present system is persevered in.
- 229 On the Nature of Exchange, and an Explanation of a most Important Political Truth, that by keeping the Precious Metals at high Prices, we may ensure the Prosperity of the Agriculture, Manufactures, and General Interests of the Country.
- 230 Axioms regarding Currency, in which the Superiority of Silver over Gold as a Standard of Value is explained.
- 231 Proofs of the Assertion, that when the Price of the Precious Metals is higher in England than in Foreign Countries, it operates through the medium of the Exchange: 1st, As a Bounty on the exportation of British commodities; and, 2d, As a Tax on the importation of Foreign commodities.
- 232 Letter to the Chairman, Deputy-Chairman, and Direc-

tors of the East India Company, on the introduction of the Bitter Cassava.

- 233 Thoughts on Currency, and the means of promoting National Prosperity by the adoption of an improved Circulation, founded on the security of solid property, and adapted to the wants and necessities of the Country.
- 234 To the Members of the Board of Trustees, for promoting the Fisheries, Manufactures, and other Improvements in Scotland.
- 235 General View of the Currency Question.
- 236 On the Fatal Consequences from the Depression of Agriculture, and the promoting a too great extension of Manufacturing Industry.
- 237 Plan for Reviving the Confidence of the Landed Interest.
- 238 On the Destructive Attempt to Repeal the Union between Great Britain and Ireland.
- 239 Plan for Promoting the Improvement and Prosperity of our West India Colonies.
- 240 On Ruptures.

1830.

- 241 Plan for publishing Digests or Codes of four of the most Interesting Branches of Human Knowledge :
1. Agriculture ; 2. Health ; 3. Political Economy ;
and, 4. Religion.
- 242 Hints regarding the Causes of the Existing National Distresses, and the means of averting them.
- 243 Letter to the Marquis of Chandos, M.P., chairman of the West India Committee, on the Dangers of Immediate Emancipation.
- 244 Plan for enabling Government to reduce Taxes to the amount of £4,000,000, and thereby essentially relieving the distresses we now experience, and pre-

- venting that discontent which the imposition of New Taxes is likely to occasion.
- 245 Petition to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.
- 246 To the President of the United States of America.
- 247 Plan to Provide an Effectual Remedy for our present National Distresses.
- 248 Address to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh on the City Improvements.
- 249 On Percussion.
- 250 Thoughts on the means of preventing the Public Mischiefs which necessarily arise from the great load of Public and Private Business with which the House of Commons is overwhelmed.
- 251 On the Tala Plant as a Substitute for Thorn in Hedges.
- 252 Fingal; a Tragedy, in Five Acts, drawn up by an admirer of Celtic poetry, from the original of the celebrated Epic Poem of Fingal, by Ossian.

1831.

- 253 Political Hints. On the new Plan of Reform, &c.
- 254 Thoughts by the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart., regarding his Proposed Future Literary Labours. Written on his birth-day, the 10th of May, 1831.
- 255 On the Monument to Burns.
- 256 On the Means of Improving the Condition of the industrious Labourers in Husbandry, and effectually relieving their distresses.
- 257 Plan for effecting a Reform, founded on a precedent already sanctioned by Parliament.
- 258 Letter by an Agriculturist on Wilful Fires.
- 259 To his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the Means of alleviating the Distress with which Ireland is now afflicted, and preventing future Scarcities.

- 260 Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform, with Tables exhibiting the original amount and progressive increase of the number of National Representatives ; together with some Observations on the Present State of the Representation of Scotland, and the Improvements of which it is susceptible.
- 261 Medical Hints.—For further Consideration and Enquiry.
- 262 Hints on the Means by which the important Discussions on Reform might be speedily and effectually adjusted.
- 263 Plan for accomplishing the proposed Reform in Parliament, and putting an immediate end to the present political ferment.
- 264 Thoughts on the Times, and the Risk of War, in the present circumstances of Europe.
- 265 Final Appeal to the Public on the West India Question.
- 266 Hints on the Conversion of the entire Potato into Meal, and regarding other uses to which that plant is applicable.
- 267 Address to the Reformers of Great Britain and Ireland on the plan of Radical Reform which they have in contemplation.
- 268 Lecture on the Science of Agriculture, and the Means of its Improvement.

1832.

- 269 Letter to Thomas Attwood, Esq. of Birmingham, on the Currency Question.
- 270 Hints on the Advantages of Flax Husbandry and the Linen Manufacture, as practised in Flanders.
- 271 Defence of Agriculture:—On the Corn Laws, and the Necessity of protecting the Landed and Farming Interests from the ruin with which they are now

threatened—the final effort of an old friend to the cause of British Agriculture.

272 To the Friends of Agriculture.

273 Hints respectfully submitted to the consideration of the Committee on the Silk Trade; on the Means of Restoring the prosperity of that important branch of manufacture.

274 Medical Hints :—On Fever, Sore Throat, Lumbago, and Weakness of the Joints, a Christmas Present to Friends.

275 On the Means of Preventing the Extension of the Cholera.

276 On the Important Advantages derived by Cottagers from the Possession of a Garden.

1833.

277 Plan for Preventing the Fatal Political Revolution with which we are now threatened, drawn up for the consideration of some particular Friends.

278 On the Advantages to be derived by Political Economy from Statistical Researches.

279 On the Necessity of Preserving the Corn Laws, and Resisting with spirit and energy any attempt to Repeal them.

280 On the Culture of White Pease as an advantageous means of preventing the too frequent repetition of Crops of Wheat.

281 Resolutions submitted to the Consideration of the Agricultural Classes.

282 On the Means of Preserving Health, and Attaining Longevity.

283 Letter to Lord Viscount St Vincent, on the West Indian Question.

284 Plan for the Establishment of a Small Note circulation in England to the amount of Ten Millions.

- 285 On the Corn Laws. Letter to Lord Western.
- 286 Address to the Friends of Agricultural Improvement in the County of Caithness.
- 287 Hints on the Means of Preventing the Mischievous Effects of the Roman Malaria, and on the Improvement of Marshy Districts in general.
- 288 On Shell Marle as a Manure for Turnips.
- 289 Account of the Origin of those Cattle Shows and other Agricultural Meetings which have tended so much to excite a spirit of Improvement in England and Scotland.

1834.

- 290 Hints on the Tithe Question.
- 291 Hints on the Means of Improving the Laws regarding Church Patronage in Scotland.
- 292 Thoughts on the Propriety of Dissolving the present Parliament.
- 293 On the Means of rendering Great Britain Unconquerable, and relieving it from all apprehension of Invasion.
- 294 On the necessity of a Total Repeal of the Malt Tax, and the practicability of the Measure proved by a Conversion of the Dead Weight to the amount of from Four to Five Millions Sterling, from Temporary into Perpetual Annuities.
- 295 A Brief Statement of the Advantages which the Public would derive by converting the Dead Weight to the amount of from Three to Four Millions Sterling, from Temporary into Perpetual Annuities.
- 296 Plan for enabling Government to reduce Taxes to the amount of from Three to Four Millions Sterling.
- 297 On the Immense Advantages to be derived from the Introduction of Spade Husbandry in the Cultivation of Arable and Grass Lands, with a view to the In-

crease of the National Produce, the Improvement of the Soil, and the Employment of Immense Numbers of the Labouring Classes of the Community.

- 298 Hints on Vegetation, the Agents necessary for the Production of Plants, and those which are Injurious or Destructive to them.
- 299 Preliminary Observations on the Plan of a Code, or Digest of Religion.

1835.

- 300 Important Hints. Maxims in regard to Commerce and Currency; Comparison between a Restricted and an Abundant Circulation, and the Means pointed out of Restoring our National Prosperity.
- 301 Thoughts on the Currency and the Means of Relieving the Country from the Distresses which it now experiences.
- 302 On the Destructive Consequences that would result from Encouraging the Importation of Foreign Corn.
- 303 Hints on the proposed Monument to the Memory of Sir Walter Scott.
- 304 Hints on the Currency, and the Means of Re-establishing the Prosperity of the Country, by Improving our Means of Circulation.
- 305 Letter to the Chairman of the Lothian Tenantry.
- 306 Letter to Dr D. B. Reid, on the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh.
- 307 An Effectual Means of Restoring the Prosperity of the Country by the Issuing of Small Notes convertible into Silver, and adding Half a Million per annum to the Public Income, by which the most Obnoxious Taxes might be got rid of.
- 308 Plan of a Meeting for constituting a Society to Supply the City of London with Milk and other Articles, the Produce of the Dairy.

- 309 On a Valuable Means of applying Friction and Heat in Chronic Inflammation and Swelling of the Eyelids.
 - 310 Statistical Display of the Population of Great Britain and Ireland, arranged in its Various Classes.
 - 311 A Brief Statement of the Question between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, stating the result of the Discussion, and explaining the Grounds on which a Preference ought to be given to one of the Parties.
 - 312 On the Extinction of the Malt Tax, and Distillation from Wheat.
 - 313 On the necessity of a Total Repeal of the Malt Tax, the immense Advantages that would result therefrom, and the practicability of the Measure proved.
 - 314 Hints on the Tithe Question.
 - 315 On the Means of effectually Relieving the Landed and Farming Interests from the Distresses which they now experience.
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SHORT PAPERS AND PAMPHLETS NOT DATED.

- 316 Information respecting the Castle of Dunsinnan, or Dunsinane, and on the probability that Shakspeare had collected on the spot the Traditions of the Country respecting Macbeth, and founded thereon his celebrated Drama.
- 317 Hints regarding Cattle, drawn up with the view of being inserted in the Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland, and printed now for the purpose of obtaining Additional Facts and Observations on that interesting subject.

- 318 On the Injurious Consequences resulting from the present Defective State of Currency in Ireland.
- 319 On the Mischiefs which have already accrued from the Change of Currency.
- 320 Hints regarding the Clothing of the British Army, with a View to Health.
- 321 On the propriety of making Silver, jointly with Gold, a Legal Tender.
- 322 On Drilling Culmiferous or Corn Crops, with Observations on the Row Culture for Crops of Grain.
- 323 On a Pure Metallic, or a Foreign Currency.
- 324 On the Means of saving the Nation from Impending Calamities: Plan for issuing Twenty Millions of One Pound Notes by the Commissioners for Paying off the National Debt, founded on National Security.
- 325 On the tendency of Ignorance and want of Education to produce an Excessive Population, as exemplified in the state of Ireland.
- 326 On Ventilation, and the means of Improving it; with a Diagram.
- 327 Hints on the Importance of Wealth.
- 328 Plan for procuring the Sum necessary to Complete the Thames Tunnel.
- 329 On the Great Advantage which Literature derived from the Erection of the celebrated Monastery and College of Iona.
- 330 Hints respecting a Poem recently published, by Robert Pollok, M.A., entitled, "The Course of Time." With a short Account of the Author.
- 331 Hints on the Dangerous Tendency of what is called the Free Trade System.
- 332 On the Currency Question, respectfully submitted to the Select Committee appointed for the consideration of that subject.
- 333 On the Immense Losses which the Nation has sus-

tained by the Change of Currency, and the extinction of Small Notes.

- 334 On the Indispensable Necessity of preserving a Paper Circulation in the more remote districts of the Empire.
- 335 Hints as to Autographs.
- 336 Hints explanatory of the Nature and Objects of a proposed Code of Political Economy.
- 337 Statistical Display of the Occupations of the Male Population, twenty years of age and upwards, in each section of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, deduced from the returns made to Parliament in 1831.
- 338 Resolutions submitted to the consideration of the Agricultural Classes.
- 339 On the means of Taxing the Funded as well as Landed Interest.
- 340 On a Plan by which the British Settlements in the East and West Indies might be essentially benefited.
- 341 On the Nature of Cash Accounts as granted by the Banks of Scotland.
- 342 On the Management of an Extensive Property.
- 343 Hints regarding the Proposed Reduction in our Peace Establishments.
- 344 Hints on the Character of General Washington.
- 345 Whigs and Tories.
- 346 On the destructive attempt to Repeal the Union between Great Britain and Ireland.
- 347 Hints regarding the policy of Establishing a Colony on a great scale at the Cape of Good Hope.
- 348 On the Total Repeal of the Malt Tax.
- 349 On the means of Improving the Systems of Education in Scotland.
- 350 On the Formation of a Company for the Erection of a

Breakwater in Portland Roads, as highly beneficial to the Commercial Interests of the Country, and above all, as essential for Protecting our Commerce in the British Channel, and for Preventing the risk of Invasion by Steam-Boats from the opposite Coast of France.

- 351 On the Herring Fishing at Gottenburg.
- 352 Substance of the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, and the Minutes of the Evidence annexed to it, on the subject of the Corn Laws.
- 353 Plan of an Agricultural Festival.
- 354 On the Advantages which will be Derived by the Inhabitants of London and the adjacent villages, from having an Experimental Farm Established in the immediate neighbourhood of the Metropolis.
- 355 Address to the Inverness-shire Farming Society on the Agricultural State of the Country.
- 356 Thoughts on Currency, and the means of Promoting National Prosperity by the adoption of an Improved Circulation, founded on the Security of Solid Property, and adapted to the wants and necessities of the Country.
- 357 On the employment of Roasted or Baked Potatoes as a Specific against the Scurvy.
- 358 Anecdote illustrating the hazards attending Speculations in Farming.
- 359 On the Cape of Good Hope Wheat.
- 360 Account of the Scotch Banks Issuing Notes who have suspended their Payments in the course of the last fifty years.
- 361 Protecting Averages indispensable for the safety of the British farmer.
- 362 On the Superior Importance of Agriculture.
- 363 Plan of an Institution for the Purchase and Sale of

Temporary Reversionary Interests in the Public Funds.

364 Information Regarding the Carlisle and Keswick Codlin Apples.

365 Hints Regarding a Spanish Grain called Escanda.

366 Hints to the Landed Interest.

367 On the Corn Laws, the Improvements of which they are Susceptible, and the Necessity of adhering to the Principle of the Present System, but Remedying its Defects.

THE END.



